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THE HISTORIA OCCIDENTALIS  
OF JACQUES DE VITRY

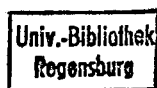
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## PREFACE

A surprisingly small portion of the writings of Jacques de Vitry have been critically edited or even published. The present work represents the first critical edition of the *Historia Occidentalis*, the second book of the author's *Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreviata*. Printed but once, in 1597 by F. Moschus, it has been relatively inaccessible to students and scholars, although copies of the edition are not extremely scarce. It is to be hoped this edition will represent a noteworthy contribution in the field of scholarship and knowledge of medieval Christian life.

Expressions of gratitude are due to many whose assistance and encouragement aided in the production of this book. In the first place thanks must be extended to the Reverend Prof. G. G. Meersseman, O.P., of the University of Fribourg, whose advice, suggestions and inspiration have been of the highest value; to Prof. Heinrich Schmidinger of the Istituto Austriaco di Cultura, Rome, for his guidance; to Prof. Paschal Ladner of the University of Fribourg, especially for his help in matters paleographical; to the priors provincial of the Province of Saint Joseph in the United States, the Very Reverends K. C. Sullivan, O.P. and R. L. Every, O.P.; to the presidents of Providence College, the Very Reverends W. P. Haas, O.P. and V. C. Dore, O.P.; to Rev. C. P. Forster, O.P., chairman of the Department of History at Providence College; to the various libraries which graciously permitted my study of their manuscripts of the *Historia Occidentalis* or which allowed the use of their facilities in research, and to their staffs who gave valuable assistance through cooperation and correspondence; to Msgr. I. Rogger, Rev. P. Declercq,

Rev. G. M. Grech, O.P., Prof. R. B. C. Huygens, Dr. N. Ker, Dr. A. N. L. Munby, Prof. L. Milis, Prof. D. Meinhold, Dr. Hans Mayer, Dr. C. Leonardi, Msgr. C. Coolen, M<sup>lle</sup> C. Opsomer; to the Dominicans of various priories in Europe who offered hospitality in the course of my research. On a personal note the deepest appreciation is due to Frau Elisabeth von Hutten and the Dominican Sisters of Marienheim at Speyer, Germany. Several others whose understanding and encouragement were decisive must not be overlooked, but their contribution is known to them and does not require public recognition.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SYMBOLS

- AA SS      *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. 70 vols., Antverpiae-Bruxellis-Tongerloe, 1643ff.
- AFP      *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Roma).
- Archiv      *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* (Hannover).
- BSS      *Bulletin de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts du Saumurois* (Saumur).
- Cath      *Catholicisme*, Paris, Vol. I, 1948. In progress.
- CE      *Catholic Encyclopedia*. 17 vols., New York, 1907-1922.
- Chevalier BB      *Bio-bibliographie*. See the bibliography list.
- Chevalier TB      *Topo-bibliographie*. See the bibliography list.
- COCR      *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatum* (Westmalle).
- Corp Chr      *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*. Turnholti, 1953ff.
- CSEL      *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. Vindobonae, 1866ff.
- DHGE      *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastique*. Paris, Vol. I, 1912. In progress.
- EC      *Enciclopedia cattolica*. 12 vols., Città del Vaticano, 1948-1954.
- EHR      *English Historical Review* (London).
- GC      *Gallia Christiana*. See the bibliography list.
- Hisp      *Hispania* (Madrid).
- HLF      *Histoire littéraire de la France*. See the bibliography list.
- LTK      *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd ed., 10 vols. and Supplement, Freiburg i. Br., 1957-1966.
- MGH SS      *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores*. 32 vols., Hannoverae, 1826-1934.
- NCE      *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 15 vols., New York, 1967.
- PL      J. Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*. 221 vols., Parisiis, 1841-1864.
- RM      *Revue Mabillon* (Ligugé).
- RQH      *Revue des questions historiques* (Paris).



## ABBREVIATIONS

Act	Actus apostolorum	Hebr	ab Hebraeos
add.	addit, addunt	hom.	homilia
Am	Amos		
Ap	Apocalypsis	incip.	incipit
		introd.	introduction
		Is	Isaias
c., cc.	capitulum, capituli		
Cant	Canticum canticorum	Jac	epistola Jacobi
cet. codd.	ceteri codices	Jb	Job
cfr	confer	Jer	Jeremias
ch., chaps.	chapter, chapters	Jdc	Judices
cir.	circa	Jdt	Judith
Col	ad Colossenses	Jl	Joel
Cor	ad Corinthios	Jo	Joannes
		Jon	Jonas
d.	died	Jos	Josue
Dan	Daniel	Juda	epistola Judae
Deut	Deuteronomium		
dist.	distinctio	Lc	Lucas
		Lev	Leviticus
Eccle	Ecclesiastes	lib.	liber
Eccli	Ecclesiasticus		
ed., eds.	editio, edition, editor, editors	Mal	Malachias
edit.	editor	marg.	margin
Eph	ad Ephesios	Mc	Marcus
Ex	Exodus	Mich	Micheas
Ez	Ezechiel	Mo	Moschus
		ms, mss	manuscript, manuscripts
		Mt	Matthaeus
fasc.	fascicle		
ff.	following	n <sup>o</sup> , n <sup>os</sup>	number, numbers
fl.	flourished	n. f.	neue Folge
fol., fols.	folio, folios	n. s.	new series
		Num	Numeri
Gal	ad Galatas		
Gen	Genesis	om.	omittit, omittunt

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p., pp.	page, pages	Sap	Sapientia
pag. seq.	pagina sequens	ser.	series
Par	Paralipomenon	Soph	Sophonias
Pet	epistola Petri		
Phil	ad Philippenses	Tb	Tobias
Prov	Proverbia	Thren	Threni
Ps	Psalm, Psalmi	Tim	ad Timotheum
pt.	part	Tit	ad Titum
		transl.	translator, translation
q.	quaestio		
resp.	responsorium	vol., vols.	volume, volumes
rev.	revised	Vulg.	Vulgata
Rg	liber Regum		
Rom	ad Romanos		
Ru	Ruth	Zach	Zacharias

## SECTION I

# INTRODUCTION



## CHAPTER I

# THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JACQUES DE VITRY

For an historian, preacher, spiritual guide, man of affairs, and high ecclesiastic of the magnitude of Jacques de Vitry there is much in his life that cannot be stated with accuracy. For a man who caught the attention of contemporary authors and chroniclers and who is constantly cited in our own times, it is regrettable that so much of his life is unknowable. Traces of him are found in documentary evidence, not only as a cardinal but also as a cleric before coming to a position of eminence in the world as bishop of Acre. He has left little direct autobiographical data in his own writings. Just as the first critical edition of any of his works has appeared only in the last decade, so the first fairly accurate biography of him was compiled just six decades ago. The work of Funk still remains the best study of Jacques de Vitry <sup>1</sup>.

### A. The Life of Jacques de Vitry

No accurate sources exist for the date or place of the birth of Jacques de Vitry. Deducing from the time of his studies and activity at the University of Paris, one can suppose that he was born between

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<sup>1</sup> The present survey of the life of Jacques de Vitry is no attempt at a definitive account and is based on the study of P. Funk, *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke*. E. W. McDonnell, author of the excellent work, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture*, has indicated his intention of preparing a definitive biography. See Benton, p. 39 note 1. In his book McDonnell gives a good resume of Jacques' life, pp. 20-39. Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 451-52, offers a lengthy bibliography. See also Féret, I, 225-49.

1160-1170<sup>1</sup>. His place of origin may have been one of the many towns named Vitry, although it is not certain that the name refers to a locale or to a family<sup>2</sup>. It is most probable, however, that Jacques stems from northern France, from the vicinity of Rheims<sup>3</sup>.

It is known that he was a student and master at Paris, but nothing can be said definitely about the length of his residence there, the course of his studies, or when he became a master<sup>4</sup>. Equally open to probing is the statement of Vincent of Beauvais that Jacques was in possession of a parish in Argenteuil, while a less certain source would seem to imply he had a similar position at Wasiers. It is possible that he received a legal title to the benefice at Argenteuil but resigned from it shortly after his ordination to the priesthood and may have never actually taken possession<sup>5</sup>.

After ordination to the priesthood Jacques de Vitry transferred his sphere of activity to the diocese of Liège and is found there certainly between the years 1211-1216. There is documentary evidence that he was active in that area as a priest in 1211. In this period he left the ranks of the diocesan clergy and entered the monastery of Saint Nicholas, a community of Augustinian canons at Oignies<sup>6</sup>. He

<sup>1</sup> The *Historia foundationis ecclesiae beati Nicolai Oigniacensis*, Martène, *Veterum scriptorum*, VI, 327-30, states that Jacques de Vitry was a student at Paris in 1187 at the time of the fall of Jerusalem. See Funk, pp. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> Benton, p. 41, and Funk, pp. 4-8.

<sup>3</sup> In an *exemplum* of the *sermones feriales* Jacques de Vitry seems to refer to himself in the phrase, *Magistrum Jacobum, Remensem nacione, canonicum Cameracensum*. Greven, *Exempla*, p. 7 note 2; Frenken, pp. 19-22; T. Crane, *Recent Collections of Exempla*, *Romanic Review*, 6 (1915), p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry in one of his sermons mentions that he studied at Paris. Lecoy, *Chaire*, pp. 53-54. He certainly received the master's degree and had the licence to teach. Benton, p. 40; K. Hampe, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 8 (1910), *Miszelle*, p. 218. Jacques de Vitry was pre-Scholastic even though he dies rather late in 1240. His writings or sermons do not reflect a Scholastic stamp but favor a mystical and allegorical tone. His theology might have been strongly influenced by Hugh of Saint Victor, and it may be that he was a student of Peter Cantor in view of the warm praise he gives him in chapter eight of the *Historia Occidentalis*. Funk, pp. 10-11, 69, 154; McDonnell, pp. 27, 34; Féret, I, 243; Pitra, p. xxii.

<sup>5</sup> Funk, pp. 12-15.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques de Vitry was ordained priest in 1210 and became an Augustinian canon in 1211, in which year his signature appears on a charter of the duke of Brabant in behalf of the convent of Aywières. Funk, pp. 15-30; McDonnell,

probably had this move in mind even before his ordination, and the same hidden desire might also account for his unassumed tenure of duty at Argenteuil. A dissatisfaction with mingling in worldly affairs and a deep interest in the spiritual life, characteristics of the man, possibly prompted this change of vocation.

In these years his life as a canon did not exclude active ministry. He was busy with much preaching, and there are records of ecclesiastical commissions in sundry matters concerning several monasteries<sup>1</sup>. He became closely involved in the lay spiritual movement and made the acquaintance of one of the outstanding representatives of the new piety, Mary of Oignies, whose biography he was to compose<sup>2</sup>. In 1213, commissioned by the papal legate to preach the crusade against the Albigensians, he was active in France and German-speaking Lotharingia in that capacity<sup>3</sup>. Shortly afterwards, he preached the crusade for the Holy Land<sup>4</sup>. Both these mandates testify to his

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p. 22; Féret, I, 239; Balau, p. 432 and note 5; Benton, p. 40; Berlière, Jacques de Vitry... Aywières, pp. 185-93; Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 451.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Jacques de Vitry assisted in the foundation of the Cistercian nuns at Epinleau near Mons between 1214-1216. Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 452.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas of Cantimpré in his supplement to Jacques de Vitry's life of Mary of Oignies, says that Mary was a motivating cause of Jacques' ordination, removal to Oignies, and entrance into the canonical state. AA SS, Jun. IV (1707), 667, Jun. V (1867), 573. McDonnell and Benton part with Funk and his suspicion of the historical value of the Supplement. McDonnell, p. 22. For Mary of Oignies, see below, p. 207, and Appendix C, Mary of Oignies, p. 286. In 1216 on his visit to Italy Jacques de Vitry won oral papal approval for the Beguines and the lay religious movement in Belgium, although the earliest documentary evidence is a bull of Gregory IX in 1233. Jacques de Vitry, Letter I, 76-81 (Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 74); L. Auvray, *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, I (1896), 762, n° 1361; Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, p. 170. Fulk, bishop of Toulouse (1206-1231), in exile from the Albigensian strife, came to the diocese of Liège to observe the new developments of female piety. He motivated Jacques de Vitry not only to compose the biography of Mary but also urged him to preach the Albigensian Crusade. Féret, I, 239; Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 452.

<sup>3</sup> The papal legate was Raymond, Bishop of Uzès. Potthast, *Regesta*, nos 4220, 4226, 4229, 4512, 4517; Berlière, *Evêques*, p. 70; Funk, pp. 31-37; Greven, *Frankreich*, pp. 20-21; Lejeune, p. 443; McDonnell, p. 21 note 8; Setton, II, 326, 381. Jacques de Vitry was also an active preacher in the Midi, as he says in one of his sermons. Greven, *Exempla*, p. 58; Lecoy, *Chaire*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Courçon possibly commissioned Jacques de Vitry to preach the Fifth Crusade in France in 1214. Greven, *Frankreich*, p. 21 and note 22; Alphan-

ability as preacher and spread his fame far enough to possibly account for his election as bishop by the chapter of Acre <sup>1</sup>.

Neither the time of his election to that see in the Holy Land nor the date of the papal confirmation is known. It probably transpired toward the end of 1215, for early in the following year Jacques proceeded to Italy to receive episcopal consecration <sup>2</sup>. This occurred at Perugia, July 31, 1216, shortly after the election of Honorius III <sup>3</sup>. In autumn of the same year he arrived in Palestine <sup>4</sup>.

The normal diocesan duties plus the functions of state entwined into the office of a bishop in the kingdom of Jerusalem preoccupied him in the first period of his stay at Acre. From mid-1218 to late 1221 he was with the army of the Fifth Crusade at the siege of Damietta in Egypt <sup>5</sup>. In the next four years his life at Acre was interrupted by one trip to Italy in 1222-1223, until in 1225 he left for Europe, never to return to his see again <sup>6</sup>. The two voyages to Europe involved

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déry, II, 153. To prepare the Orient for the crusade Honorius III enjoined Jacques de Vitry to preach in Palestine upon his arrival there as bishop of Acre. Grousset, III, 197-200; Setton, II, 538.

<sup>1</sup> Among the preachers of his time Jacques de Vitry held the highest rank, as testified by so many witnesses of the thirteenth century. See Stephen of Bourbon, *De Septem donis Spiritus Sancti*, cited in Pitra, p. xx; Féret, I, 242 note 3; Lecoy, *Chaire*, p. 53; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, MGH SS, XXIV, 160, 166. See also Humbert of Romans, *De Dono timoris*, cited in Welter, *L'exemplum*, p. 118; McDonnell, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The see of Acre fell vacant in 1213, and Jacques de Vitry was consecrated in 1216. The election date necessarily falls in between. Funk, pp. 37-38.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the consecration is given by Jacques de Vitry in Letter I, 71-72 (Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 74). It was on this journey into Italy in 1216 that Jacques was able to observe the lay piety of the south as represented by the Humiliati and the primitive Franciscans. It cannot be proven definitively that Jacques and Francis actually met (see Gemelli, pp. 484-86, and Callebaut, p. 551), but writers believe in its probability and that the two exchanged information on the new currents in spirituality. Sabatier, pp. 106-113; Funk, pp. 38-41; Callebaut, pp. 545-57; McDonnell, pp. 313, 434.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry sailed from Genoa early in October and reached Acre November 4, 1216. Letter II, 26-28, 109-10 (Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 52, 80, 83); Funk, pp. 41-45.

<sup>5</sup> The crusaders departed from Acre May 24, 1218, arriving five days later. Damietta was taken November 5, 1219, the crusaders were defeated at Mansura, July 24, 1221, surrendered August 30 and abandoned Damietta September 7. Donovan, *passim*; Funk, pp. 45-51.

<sup>6</sup> In 1225 Jacques de Vitry was one of the prelates accompanying Isabella,



ecclesiastical and political affairs, but it is not improbable that on both excursions he had in mind resignation from his episcopal duties. Like his entrance into the canons regular, a weariness with the responsibilities, distractions, and disappointments of office, coupled with a deep discouragement, prompted him to seek once more the peace and seclusion his nature desired.

The date of his actual resignation is not known. For three years after he departed from the Orient, Jacques was engaged in varied activities in Italy and in northern Europe<sup>1</sup>. Papal acceptance of his resignation occurred after the death of Honorius under Gregory IX. The date is probably late in 1228, for early in 1229 he was again in the north and in the summer of the same year had returned to Rome. There he took up duties in the Roman Curia, at the same time being named cardinal bishop of Tusculum. As the earliest curial document bearing his signature is dated July 29, it is probable that he was elevated to the cardinalate between May and July<sup>2</sup>. The remainder of his life was spent in the government of the Church until his death on May 1, 1240<sup>3</sup>.

## B. The Writings of Jacques de Vitry

The works of Jacques de Vitry can be classed loosely into sermon literature and historical writings. Besides a large number of sermons, there have come down to us seven letters, a biography of Mary of Oignies, and the *Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreviata*<sup>4</sup>.

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heiress of Jerusalem and wife of Emperor Frederick II, to Italy. Philip de Novare, p. 23; Funk, pp. 51-55.

<sup>1</sup> In this period until taking up duties as cardinal Jacques de Vitry served as an auxiliary to the bishop of Liège and carried out ecclesiastical functions at Cologne, Oignies, Louvain and other sites in Belgium. Berlière, *Evêques*, pp. 69-73; Funk, pp. 54-55, 57-60; McDonnell, pp. 21, 37-38; Féret, I, 242.

<sup>2</sup> Funk, pp. 55-57, 60-63. Potthast, *Regesta*, n° 8441.

<sup>3</sup> See Funk, pp. 64-67 for the activities of Jacques de Vitry as cardinal, pp. 63-64 on the erroneous designation of him as patriarch of Jerusalem, and pp. 67-68 for his death and burial at Oignies.

<sup>4</sup> For other writings attributed to Jacques de Vitry through error or misunderstanding see Funk, pp. 76-82. A medieval manuscript catalogue of the library of the Austin friars of York, England, mentions two *quodlibeta* of Jacques de Vitry, though it can no longer be determined what is meant by the entry. See James, p. 53. G. Haenel in his *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in*

The manuscript tradition of the sermons is quite rich, but only a portion have been printed and none edited<sup>1</sup>. Jacques de Vitry himself gives a brief schema for most of the sermons, dividing them into *Sermones de tempore* (*dominicales*) for the Sundays of the liturgical year, *Sermones de sanctis* for the feasts of the saints<sup>2</sup>, and *Sermones vulgares* (*ad status*) for various classes of people<sup>3</sup>. Manuscripts are also found entitled *sermones feriales* (*communes*, *quotidiani*)<sup>4</sup>.

bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae Magnae, Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur, Leipzig, 1830, p. 49, stated that the public library of Arras contained a fourteenth century parchment manuscript with "*opuscula*" of Jacques de Vitry. That library contains no manuscript of Jacques de Vitry, and Haenel was citing rather item 358 of the Catalogue du Dépôt Littéraire et de la Bibliothèque d'Arras, 1806-1807 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. fran. 6373). This deposit comprised many manuscripts confiscated from various sources in the time of the French Revolution, some of which now rest in the library of Boulogne while the others have been lost or scattered, including the "*opuscula*" of Jacques de Vitry. Probably there is no question here of an independent work of the author, for Ms. 118 of Merton College, Oxford, which contains the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry, closes with *explicit primus liber opusculi magistri Jacobi*.

<sup>1</sup> See the bibliography list: Editions of the Writings of Jacques de Vitry. The edition of the *Sermones de tempore* of Damianus de Ligno is considered to be highly defective. Pitra, p. xxi. Jacques de Vitry probably wrote down his sermons toward the end of his life, recording them after they had been delivered. His prologue indicates he intended them to serve as an instructive manual of pulpit literature. Besides being important sources of social history, the sermons also have literary value and are not marked by a strong Scholastic or philosophical accent. Lecoy, Chaire, pp. 58-59; Féret, I, 243ff; McDonnell, pp. 21-22; Alphandéry, II, 190; T. Crane, Recent Collections of Exempla, *Romanic Review*, 6 (1915), 219-36; B. Hauréau, *Journal des savants*, 1888, pp. 357-66, 410-20.

<sup>2</sup> Though Funk, p. 177, states that the *Sermones de sanctis* had not yet been discovered, there are manuscripts in libraries at Liège, Douai, Namur, and Brussels. See De Moreau, Note sur les *Sermones de sanctis*, pp. 328ff.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sermones vulgares* or *ad status* are partly printed by Pitra. Many of the groups whom Jacques de Vitry addresses in the sermons have parallels in the *Historia Occidentalis*: prelates, secular canons, theologians, scholars, Benedictines, Cistercians, Franciscans, military Orders, knights, merchants, farmers, etc. Four sermons on the crusaders are analyzed in Röhrich, *Kreuzpredigten*, pp. 550-72. A sermon on the Beguines was edited by Greven, *Ursprung*, pp. 43-49. Two sermons on the Franciscans were edited by Felder.

<sup>4</sup> Funk gives no consideration to the *Sermones feriales* or *communes*. Manuscripts can be found at Bruges, Brussels, and Liège.

The *sermones vulgares* have had a greater interest for students of history and culture than the others, for they contain many of the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry<sup>1</sup>. Collections of this illustrative sermon material of our author were made in the medieval period, as many manuscripts testify, and have also been printed in modern times<sup>2</sup>.

The biography of Mary of Oignies is both historical and hagiographical and illustrates the author's view of what the new or modern saint ought to be<sup>3</sup>. Of far greater historical importance are the seven letters of Jacques de Vitry<sup>4</sup>. Here one finds valid historical data of the greatest interest and value.

Formally designated as a history is the *Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreviata*<sup>5</sup>. The title indicates the unifying theme of the work: a narration of events in the Holy Land in the time of the crusades.

<sup>1</sup> *Exempla* are also found in the *Sermones communes*. In the preface to the life of Mary of Oignies (see note 3 below) Jacques de Vitry states: *Multis enim incitantur exemplis, qui non moventur praeceptis*, echoing Gregory the Great: *Plus exempla quam verba movent*. While Jacques was not the inventor of this literary device, he was one of the most important thirteenth century popularizers of the form, and many of his tales were borrowed by others. Probably the greater portion of his *exempla* are original and largely culled from his own experience. It is through the *exempla* that Jacques de Vitry has made his greatest literary contribution and has given valuable insights into medieval life. Lecoy, Chaire, pp. 58-59, 298-305; Welter, *L'exemplum*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Crane, *Exempla*; Greven, *Exempla*; Frenken.

<sup>3</sup> AA SS, Jun. IV (1707), pp. 636-66, Jun. V (1867), pp. 547-72. The biography was written shortly after the death of Mary in 1213, and the Supplement of Thomas of Cantimpré was added about 1231. The Life was partly motivated by Fulk of Toulouse who was seeking concrete examples of piety for use in his sermons to the Cathari. The saint of the north serves as a contrast to the heretic of the south. The work represents a new hagiographical genre, the biography of the mystic. Jacques' figure of Mary largely served as the prototype of the Beguine. Lejeune ranks the prologue on the same historical level as the letters of the author. Lejeune, pp. 436-37; Gemelli, p. 478; Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, p. 172; Roisin, *L'hagiographie*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> The letters, written between 1216-1221, were recently edited by R. Huygens, while an earlier edition was presented by R. Röhrich.

<sup>5</sup> See the bibliography list: Editions of the Writings of Jacques de Vitry. In the course of this work the full Latin title will usually not be cited, but the shorter form "History" will be used. Similarly, the *Historia Orientalis* will often be cited as the "first book," the *Historia Occidentalis* as the "second book," while "third book" will be employed for that doubtful portion of the History.

Jerusalem is incorporated into the title, for the recovery and the defense of the Holy City and Places were the central purpose of the crusades and the crusader states. The word *abbreviata* is used possibly because it is a summary drawn from earlier sources<sup>1</sup>. According to the plan given by the author in the prologue, the work is divided into three books.

The first book is the *Historia Orientalis*, wherein the earlier background of the crusades is presented, beginning with a discussion of Mohammed and his religion. Besides being an historical account of the first to the third crusades, the book also describes the land, its fauna and flora, the life of the people, and varied groups of inhabitants.

The second book is entitled the *Historia Occidentalis*, in which the author turns his attention to recent and contemporary events in the West. In tone, however, it is a religious and a moral history, and, as far as it is factual, it can be designated ecclesiastical history. The book will be analyzed more closely in the subsequent chapter.

Although Jacques de Vitry projected a third book, it is extremely doubtful that the varied texts handed down as the work of the author are authentic<sup>2</sup>. This so-called third book exists in many manuscripts and has been included in the printed editions. A consideration or solution of the complex problem is not the burden of the present work. It is enough to point out here, that Jacques de Vitry contemplated and possibly began writing a third portion of his History, in which he would once more turn from the West to the Orient and describe events there from the time of the Lateran Council to the capture of Damietta. The entire History, then, as planned by the author, coheres in a unified whole. In the ensuing chapter this will be studied in greater detail.

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<sup>1</sup> Ms. 12/60 of the Groot Seminarie, Bruges, has the title *Jacobi de Vitriaco episcopi Acconensis historia Jerosolimitana ab eodem abbreviata*.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called third book does not contain all the material Jacques de Vitry mentions in his prologue, but it does conform in many passages to his letters. The text seems partially taken from Oliver of Paderborn and partially from Haymarus. Zarncke, pp. 138-48.

### C. Jacques de Vitry as Historian

Jacques de Vitry has always been respected as a historian of merit and one of considerable authority<sup>1</sup>. Although the *Historia Orientalis* has been criticized as lacking in originality, it would be difficult to ignore in his other works Jacques de Vitry's significant contribution as a narrator of the contemporary scene. It could be said that his greatest worth as a historian can be gauged in his reporting of the events of the Fifth Crusade in his letters<sup>2</sup>. In the *Historia Hierosolimitana* his observations on the mores of the times and his reports on the ecclesiastical and political scene, both in the Orient and in the West, have historical value, while his comments on the laxer side of student life in the medieval world has been called a *locus classicus*<sup>3</sup>. In the same sense his biography of Mary of Oignies, which had a beneficent practical effect in his own day, is an excellent document of the early formative period of the new piety and of the Beguine movement<sup>4</sup>. His writings reflect an informed understanding of these spiritual currents and of the life of the monastic world of his time. It can be said that he is one of the great medieval cultural historians.

Even when one considers the more vulnerable *Historia Orientalis*, Jacques de Vitry is still hailed as a noteworthy historian, one of the best of his age, ranking after William of Tyre<sup>5</sup>. While the *Historia Occidentalis*, as a social and cultural record, might have more value for us, the first book is, nevertheless, more a history in the accepted sense of the word as a record of past events<sup>6</sup>. Still, as a history its greater importance lies, not in the less original historical narrative, but in the topographical, statistical, and social comments which form a considerable part of the work<sup>7</sup>. While one finds many exact notions on the geography, the institutions, and the customs of the Holy Land,

<sup>1</sup> Féret, I, 242; Roisin, *L'hagiographie*, p. 148; La Monte, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Donovan, p. 39 note 7, speaks of "contradictory statements especially from Jacques de Vitry". He cites Letter III but also seems to accept the disputed third book as authentic. See also pp. 34-47 *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Rashdall, III, 439.

<sup>4</sup> Pirenne, I, 368; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, XIII, 718.

<sup>5</sup> Guizot, XXII, ix; De Saint-Genois, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> K. Hampe, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 8 (1910), *Miszelle*, 223.

<sup>7</sup> Sybel, p. 326.

the book is not completely trustworthy. It is valuable, however, in reflecting the level of knowledge of natural history in the early thirteenth century. Though its weaknesses as a history are evident, the *Historia Orientalis* was recognized in the thirteenth century as a work of merit, for it was utilized by such men as Matthew Paris, Marino Sanudo, Pietro di Penna, Humbert of Romans<sup>1</sup>.

By way of qualification for his historical role, it must be recognized that Jacques de Vitry was a keen observer of events and conditions, and he records often what he saw as an eye-witness. His historical qualities are seen in the reporting of the early Franciscans in Umbria in his first letter<sup>2</sup>. His powers of observation were certainly enhanced by his excellent literary and philosophical training and the sharpness developed in much journeying, both in his home area and abroad. This skill and fund of knowledge is often reflected in the sermons, recorded later in life, where he draws upon recollections of his student days, of his preaching labors, and of his life in the Orient.

Jacques de Vitry is certainly one of the most clear-sighted observers of church life in his day. Not only does he narrate highly important factors of the world of his time in the Lowlands, but he also proves himself a competent judge of significant events and trends, for he was one of the first to properly evaluate the significance and consequences of the new upswell of popular piety<sup>3</sup>. In his biography of Mary of Oignies and in the *Historia Occidentalis*, he stands as an authoritative historian of the new emphasis upon the apostolic life among laity and among religious.

The powers of observation of Jacques de Vitry are demonstrated sufficiently even in the *Historia Orientalis*. While he is better on contemporary events than on early crusade history, his insights are far more valuable when noting the beliefs, manners, natural history, and material condition of Palestine. Here he is certainly an informed and profound judge of local conditions, bolstered by on-the-spot reporting<sup>4</sup>. Although something is to be desired in his treatment of

<sup>1</sup> Atiya, *Crusades in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 119; Lecoy, *Prédication*, p. 15; Sybel, p. 326; Molinier, II, 290, n° 2138; Munro, *Western Attitude*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Greven, *Anfänge*, p. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Vicaire, II, 13 (English transl., pp. 190-91); Roisin, *L'hagiographie*, p. 92; McDonnell, p. 3; Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 718; Prutz, pp. 114, 282; Féret, I, 245.

Mohammed and Islam, his perception of Moslem fatalism is penetrating, and he was one of the first historians to note that salient factor <sup>1</sup>.

Though practical and realistic in his observations, was Jacques de Vitry truly objective? Though of prudent judgment and a man of integrity, did he reflect this essential quality of a good historian? While much of his writing can be tested through other data and historians, it can be admitted that he was not altogether unbiased in his handling of Islam or of the Syrians. Here he often reflects the common prejudices of the West, failing to rise above the limitations of preconceived notions, though much of the data he does mention is marked by accuracy <sup>2</sup>.

Criticism of the historical ability of Jacques de Vitry often centers on his use of sources, the presence of errors, frequent lack of a critical spirit, and of a bias rooted in his penchant for strong rhetorical coloring.

It has often been noted that the *Historia Orientalis* is largely taken from the histories of William of Tyre and, indeed, without any critical norms being exercised in the choice. Such a practice was a common failing of medieval historians, and, although this does not enhance his status as a historian, it does mitigate the severity of judgment in this respect <sup>3</sup>. In his prologue to the *History* he intimates he had consulted Greek and Arabic historical sources, but from testimony in other writings of his, it would seem he could not have drawn information from these works in the original languages. From his letters it is known that, when discussing with the Jacobites or when hearing confessions in Palestine, it was necessary for him to do so through an interpreter. At best his assertion can probably mean that he knew that such source materials existed. His account of Mohammed would have been written with a different tone, had he had personal access to oriental information <sup>4</sup>.

No historian is entirely free from error because of personal psychological outlook, or because of the limitations of his sources or of available data. Some fault in this regard can be noted in the case of Jacques de Vitry. Though his account of the religious orders in the second book is highly useful, his knowledge of the earlier history of

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Munro, *Western Attitude*, p. 341; *Kingdom of the Crusaders*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Hagenmeyer, p. 267; Molinier, II, 303; Sybel, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenthal, p. 173; Monneret de Villard, pp. 25-26; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 310.

monks and canons is deficient <sup>1</sup>. Holstenius criticizes his statement about the Cistercian character of the monks of Val-des-Choux, pointing out the very strong Carthusian nature of the foundation <sup>2</sup>. Other critics have categorized his treatment of Mohammed as chiefly fable. They single out his erroneous concept of the caliph, when he attributes to him an office and function similar to that of the pope, whereas the Islamic religion had no priestly or hierarchical order. Jacques de Vitry's faulty handling of Mohammed and Islam has been contrasted with the more excellent presentation of other medieval writers, such as Peter the Venerable and Roderick of Toledo <sup>3</sup>.

A weakness in the critical sense and a proneness to credulity are other common criticisms of Jacques de Vitry. Although he resided in the Holy Land and was able to observe matters directly, his misinformation about many matters oriental is considered noteworthy and thus his narrative of lesser merit than that of his predecessors, especially William of Tyre <sup>4</sup>. Like most western medieval writers, Jacques de Vitry poorly understood the nature of Islam and its expansionism, yet his contribution in this field ranks high among writers of the crusading epoch <sup>5</sup>. Though he repeats fables, he does often give factual material and reports it with exactitude, though he errs in his affirmation that an image of Mohammed in the Dome of the Rock was worshipped by his followers, a fact hard to explain when it is understood that he is normally accurate in matters of Moslem doctrine <sup>6</sup>. Some of the drawbacks of his account of Islam might be explained by a heavier reliance in certain cases upon literary sources in preference to direct, first hand observation <sup>7</sup>.

The severity of some of these criticisms can possibly be ameliorated by the observation that the *Historia Orientalis* may be considered a history only in the second instance, that primarily it might better be classified as travel literature <sup>8</sup>. It may have been written chiefly to inform westerners of conditions in the East, than to give an exact

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<sup>1</sup> Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, 235, II, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Holste, III, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Monneret de Villard, pp. 26, 61, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Molinier, III, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Gemelli, p. 494; Daniel, *Islam, Europe, and Empire*, p. 496.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 232, 310.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> Gemelli, p. 488; Guizot, p. x; Michaud, I, 169.



historical account of the crusades or of Islam. Jacques de Vitry seems to use his historical data to create an effect, a picture, a statistical account, rather than to give a strict historical narrative. In making such a judgment on the first book, however, one should not lose sight of the historical quality of his letters.

Strong objections against the historical ability of Jacques de Vitry commonly point out his proneness to heavy coloring and exaggeration. He has been labelled a religious fanatic, a pious misanthrope, a painter in dark colors – traits which militate against the production of dispassionate, balanced history<sup>1</sup>. The criticism pertains to his portrayal of peoples and situations in the East and to his depicting of the ethical decline and corruption of Christian life in the West.

Once more, the force of the attack might be somewhat lessened, when it is recalled that by vocation Jacques de Vitry was not primarily a historian but a priest, ecclesiastic, theologian, and preacher. The religious theme and the spiritual health of society is always uppermost in his mind, and, though he is an excellent observer and frequently an eye-witness and thereby often produces good history, he might be designated first of all a moralist chiefly interested in the religious factor<sup>2</sup>. As a preacher his eye would first of all notice elements useful for sermons or for a religious effect. In this sense his frequent severity reflects the scandalized tone of the preacher exhorting his auditory to amendment of life. Thus, his depicting of the degenerate morals of Acre can be contrasted with the more sober account of other historians, such as Philip of Novara<sup>3</sup>. But while the strong rhetorical tone of Jacques de Vitry must be admitted, it does not destroy the basic historical facts he treats. There is enough parallel evidence to show that conditions, if not so dark as Jacques de Vitry paints them, still were not good. Given the tendency of medieval writers to exaggerate, most contemporaries would probably not have taken his writings in an exact literal sense. Ecclesiastics and preachers will often tend to think rhetorically, eschatologically, apocalyptically<sup>4</sup>. While acknowledging his limitations, then, there is sufficient evidence and agreement among critics to accord Jacques de Vitry an important place in the history of historiography.

<sup>1</sup> Mayer, *Geschichte*, p. 197; Michaud, I, 177–78; Molinier, III, 50.

<sup>2</sup> McDonnell, pp. 25, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, III, 199; La Monte, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Guizot, p. xi; Rashdall, III, 441.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORIA OCCIDENTALIS

Apart from the introductory sentences in the opening chapter, which note the transition from the first book, the second book of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreviata*, the *Historia Occidentalis*, could well stand independently. Because of the great interest in the Holy Land and the crusades both in the medieval and in the modern periods, it has never had the same popularity as the *Historia Orientalis*. An attestation of this can be seen in the number of manuscripts in the History's tradition, for there are roughly six times as many manuscripts which contain the first book. Yet the *Historia Occidentalis* stands as an important historical source and is of great value for aspects of life in the West in the early thirteenth century. The passages on the University of Paris and the Franciscans have perennially summoned the interest of scholars, while the details on the various forms of monastic life and the mores of different classes of people have a merit of their own.

#### A. The Date of Composition

As any internal dating for its composition and other documentary information is lacking, the date of composition can only be conjectured from internal evidence. In his prologue Jacques de Vitry states he began the history at Damietta. Funk concurs and believes it was composed during the Egyptian campaign, thus between 1219-1221<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Funk, pp. 156-57, 174-76; Goetz, p. 30.

His argument revolves about the evidence in the second book concerning the Franciscans and Dominicans.

The author refers to Saint Francis as still alive, hence the *terminus ad quem* must be 1226, the year of Francis' death. The preaching of Francis and his followers to the Saracens at Damietta, depicted in chapter thirty-two, establishes 1219 as the *terminus a quo*<sup>1</sup>. Funk narrows the *terminus ad quem* to 1221, for it appears that Jacques was not acquainted with the Franciscan Rules of 1223 or of 1221<sup>2</sup>.

Funk's second argument revolves about Jacques de Vitry's ignoring of the Dominicans in his treatment of the various orders. As he has nothing to say about the Friars Preachers, the *Historia Occidentalis* must have been composed after 1219. Had he been in Europe to witness the emergence of the Dominicans, he certainly would not have omitted a consideration of such a singular congregation, a phenomenon strikingly new and differing even from the Franciscans. Funk supposes that the description of the various orders is based on the author's knowledge before 1216, when he departed for the East, and thus he would not have known the Friars Preachers until after his return from the Orient. He rejects Mandonnet's thesis that the Bologna canons of chapter twenty-seven are the new Order of Preachers<sup>3</sup>.

Jacques de Vitry could have heard reports of Saint Dominic and his early followers before 1216<sup>4</sup>, but the question involved with the problem of the Bologna canons is how great was his knowledge of them at the time of the composition of his *History*. The Dominicans

<sup>1</sup> Saint Francis was at Damietta from late August to early November, 1219. See pp. 161-62.

<sup>2</sup> Bihl agrees with Funk that Jacques de Vitry did not know the Rules of 1221 and 1223. *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 4 (1911), 755-57.

<sup>3</sup> Funk, pp. 155-57; Denifle, *Constitutionen*, p. 171; Mandonnet, *Chanoines*, pp. 69-90 (the article is also incorporated as *Etude I* in Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, 231-47, but does not appear in the English translation).

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry preached in the Midi during the Albigensian Crusade; he knew Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, who had close connections with Saint Dominic and the early Dominicans in the first decade of the century; in 1216 he was in contact with Cardinal Ugolino who learned from Jacques de Vitry of the spiritual movement in the north and who in turn probably acquainted him with his knowledge of the Franciscans in Italy, thus allowing a supposition that he might have also passed on information about the incipient Dominican Order.

began on a diocesan level in southern France early in the century, but the new preaching order was confirmed late in 1216, shortly after his departure for Acre. The Dominican priory at Bologna was founded in 1219, though the friars had arrived in the city a year earlier. In Funk's view Jacques de Vitry could not have known of Dominicans at Bologna before his voyage eastward. The "new congregation" of canons at Bologna cannot be the Dominicans but are another group similar in nature, for Jacques de Vitry was utilizing knowledge acquired before 1216.

Funk follows Denifle's assertion that the Bologna canons are not the Dominicans but the canons of Saint Savior outside the city at Reno<sup>1</sup>. Mandonnet, however, rejects Denifle's contention and argues very convincingly that the canons of Jacques de Vitry are the Dominicans. It is not necessary here to review his arguments for the Dominicans and against the canons of Reno<sup>2</sup>. For our purpose, it is essential to note that Mandonnet contends that Jacques de Vitry derived his knowledge of the Dominicans at Bologna upon his visit to Italy in 1222-1223. On that voyage he had stopped in Rome and Verona and so could have easily visited Bologna<sup>3</sup>. The description of the Bologna canons has the characteristics of an eye-witness account, or at least the data were received from a well-informed second party, if Jacques was not actually in Bologna. Mandonnet also believes the account was written before Jacques' final return to Europe in 1225. Had he written after that date, he would have more accurately designated the canons as Order of Preachers. Since they were by then widespread and known in Europe, he would have given still more explicit information about Saint Dominic and the

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<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> The canons of Saint Savior divided from the cathedral chapter in Bologna and moved to Saint Mary in Reno. Since the establishment occurred a century before the time of Jacques de Vitry, it is hard to see how the Bologna canons could be designated a "new congregation". The canons of Reno at this time comprised a simple house. Later, in 1408, the monastery became the nucleus of a congregation formed by Stephen Cione. The group was popularly called Renani after Saint Mary of Reno. In 1823 the congregation was united to the Canons of Saint John Lateran. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 428-29.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Vitry had come to Italy to attend a council at Verona (November, 1222) where affairs of the Holy Land were to be discussed. Mandonnet, *Chanoines*, p. 90.

Dominicans, nor would he have restricted his account to Dominicans at Bologna, although that priory long remained one of the chief houses of the Dominicans <sup>1</sup>.

The compelling arguments of Mandonnet necessarily suggest some reconsideration of the terminal date for the composition of the *Historia Occidentalis*. While Mandonnet cannot prove an actual visit of Jacques de Vitry to Bologna, it can be accepted that he could have derived concrete information about the Dominicans indirectly during his 1222 journey in Italy. Upon his return to Acre, the author could have inserted chapter twenty-seven into his previously written text, if composed between 1219-1221, and thus the text of the second book would have been finished in its present form between 1223-1225 <sup>2</sup>.

If the suggestion of an insertion is not plausible, it might be presumed that the History was finished between 1223-1225, with the chapter on the Franciscans (ch. 32) being composed after that on the Dominicans (ch. 27). This stance would suppose that Jacques de Vitry wrote the section on the Friars Minor solely from the knowledge

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<sup>1</sup> Although papal bulls before 1219 use *ordo praedicatorum* to refer to the early Dominicans, it would seem that at the time Jacques de Vitry wrote the second book the term would still have for the public at large the traditional generic sense; i.e., all preachers form an *ordo* in society, just as monks, knights, etc. Only later would *ordo praedicatorum* immediately connote a specific sense; i.e., a hearer would at once think of the Dominican *ordo*. Jacques de Vitry in chapter thirty-two thus refers to the early Franciscans as *religio... et ordo predicatorum* in the generic sense (p. 158, 19-20). Jacques de Vitry was certainly well acquainted with the Dominicans after 1225. In 1229 he assisted in the founding of their priory at Liège (Lejeune, pp. 447-48). In his *Sermo ad canonicos regulares* (see note 2, p. 24) he expressly treats of the Dominicans as one manifestation of the Augustinian and canonical form of religious life. In that sermon he notes the same two predominant characteristics which he mentions in the chapter on the Bologna canons: the Friars Preachers are a unique canonical foundation, for they devote themselves to preaching, and they do not have possessions. Referring to the sermon on the canons, Mandonnet notes: "Jacques de Vitry made no mistake when he viewed the Order of Preachers as the last branch on the canonical tree and the ultimate expansion of the Augustinian institution." Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, II, 231; see also, pp. 236-37. The position of the chapter on the Bologna canons in the *Historia Occidentalis* would also enhance this view of the Dominicans as the culmination of the canonical life.

<sup>2</sup> Such a possibility would give a new dimension to Jacques de Vitry's phrases: *nova congregatio, nova religio*.

derived from his direct contacts with them in 1216 and 1219, and that he had not received any information about the Rules of 1221 and 1223.

This position might be hard to defend, however, in view of Funk's arguments for a composition anterior to 1221; namely, that many points narrated by Jacques de Vitry about the Franciscans were altered in the later rules. If he were writing after 1221 or 1223, it would have been possible for him to have been informed by others about these modifications, and so his account would have been differently written. Further, granted his enthusiasm for the Franciscans, can it not be conjectured that he would have taken pains to inquire about them while in Italy in 1222-1223?

With this objection in mind, another alternative might be suggested. If it can be supposed that Jacques de Vitry, while absent in the Orient, could have been informed of changes in the Franciscan Rule, could he not have received news of the Bologna canons through an intermediary and thus have written chapter twenty-seven before 1221? With such a thesis it seems the arguments both of Funk for composition before 1221 and of Mandonnet that the Bologna canons are the Dominicans can be sustained.

Whatever the solution, the case for the Dominicans as presented by Mandonnet moves one:

- a) to consider as a possibility a terminal date later than 1221;
- b) not to accept 1221 as apodictic, if it cannot be completely outruled.

### B. The Structure of the *Historia Occidentalis*

In the prologue to his History Jacques de Vitry unfolds a three-part plan for his work. Here it is well to recall what is said about the second book <sup>1</sup>.

In secundo libro modernorum orientalium  
historiam sub compendio pertransiens,  
de his quae dominus in partibus  
occidentis diebus istis novissimis  
operatus est et praecipue de diversis  
tam regularium quam saecularium ordinibus

<sup>1</sup> Bongars, p. 1048.

pertractavi, de ordine et religione  
 cruce signatorum et utilitate peregrinationis  
 plenius in fine disserens.

Thus the *Historia Occidentalis* is to consider the recent and contemporary history of the Occident and in particular a treatment of the order of religious persons and then of secular persons<sup>1</sup>, finalized by a consideration of the order of crusaders and the merits of pilgrimages<sup>2</sup>. The book is intended by the author in the larger purview of the History to serve as a transition from the treatise of the earlier history of Jerusalem in the *Historia Orientalis* to the projected third book<sup>3</sup>. The first book closes with the more recent history of the Orient at the end of the twelfth century, while the intended closing tract of the second book on the crusader, as representative of a distinct vocation or state in life, would lead to the contemporary developments in the East from the Third Lateran Council to the siege and capture of Damietta, the intended burden of the third book.

The overall plan both of the entire work and of the second book is clearly defined. At the time of the composition of the prologue, it seems the *Historia Occidentalis* was finished (*pertractavi*), while the author was still laboring on the third book (*tractare coepi* and *Concedit mihi Dominus... libellum valeam consummare*). Still, the *Historia Occidentalis*, as it has come down to us, is defective. The tract on the Sacraments is incomplete, and the section on the crusaders is not included. The portion that we do have, however, follows the sketch of the author as he outlined it. Funk believes that, despite the author's assertion that the book was finished, he may still have been revising or adding finishing touches to it<sup>4</sup>. Yet it might be more

<sup>1</sup> McDonnell (p. 33) characterizes the *Historia Occidentalis* as "a composite picture of the moral conditions of western Europe together with a passionate justification of the apostolic life within the ecclesiastical pattern".

<sup>2</sup> Did Jacques de Vitry intend to treat of pilgrimages to the Holy Land in general, or did he intend to comment on the order of crusaders and the merit of their pilgrimage? Sermons entitled *ad cruce signatos* and *ad peregrinos* are found in Ms. lat. 17509 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. For the concept of crusaders and knights forming an *ordo* see Chenu, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> The *Historia Occidentalis* is a "scathing indictment of western Europe for its indifference to the crusades and their failure so far". Thompson, I, 323.

<sup>4</sup> Funk, p. 132; K. Hampe, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 8 (1910), Miszelle, p. 223.

logical to accept the affirmation of the author and to believe that the remainder of the book was lost or that the common exemplar, even though early, of our extant manuscripts which contain the complete text as we know it, was defective. In harmony with this assumption it can be noted that the final sentence of the book seems to stand isolated, for after treating of the due reverence for the Sacramental Species in case of accidents or emergencies, this single sentence about the regular renewal of the Species stands alone. It could be introductory to other matter, though it might be the final item the author had in mind about the Eucharist.

The plan of the second book, as conceived by the author, can be schematized:

- A. The condition of the western Church (chaps. 1-5)
- B. The renewal of the western Church (chaps. 6ff)
  - 1. Renewal through preaching (chaps. 6-10)
  - 2. Renewal through the order of Regulars or monasticism (chaps. 11-33)
  - 3. Renewal through the order of secular persons, or regulars in the wide sense (chaps. 34ff)
    - a) Diocesan clergy and their Rule, as exemplified in the life of prayer and the administration of the Sacraments (chaps. 34ff)
    - b) The laity and their Rule, as exemplified by the crusader and pilgrim (chaps. ??)

The above outline naturally has some element of supposition in regard to the concluding part which has not come down to us. A more detailed analysis of the portions we do have will follow below.

In the *Historia Occidentalis*, as it stands, there is a logical cohesion among its parts and a reasonable transition from chapter to chapter, section to section. Thus, the four major sections – the state of the Church, the biographies of preachers, the religious orders, and the secular clergy – are concatenated by concluding and introductory chapters. Chapters one, six, eleven, and thirty-four inaugurate the new divisions, while chapters five, ten, and thirty-three are terminal. The concluding chapters normally present a pessimistic picture of conditions by way of contrast to the note of optimism and hope for the renewal of ecclesiastical life which the author sees in the next institution to be treated. Thus, chapters one and ten have all the earmarks of a jeremiad, while chapter eleven has a marked sanguinary tone.

The same careful planning is also evident within the subsections of the second book. In the first portion, where Jacques de Vitry portrays



the rather deplorable moral decay of Christians in the West, there is an ascending narration of failure. The faults of the various classes of laity – usurers, nobles, doctors, lawyers – are first delineated. The culmination occurs in the fifth chapter, for the turpitude of the higher clergy is the key to the laxity of the people.

The second passage on preachers is dominated by the biography of Fulk of Neuilly, for there is hope for the Church when such zealous apostles offset the weakness of the people and the carelessness of the prelates<sup>1</sup>. Other conscientious men are very briefly enumerated in the ninth chapter, while the next chapter points out, that even in this vocation, there are rogues and co-workers of anti-Christ. Yet the picture is not so hopeless, for God has raised up still another group of men who have formed organizations for the betterment of Christian life; namely, the religious congregations.

The section on the forms of monastic life which Jacques de Vitry singles out for comment is closely knit and presented in a logical pattern. There are two kinds of monachism: eremitical and cenobitical. The latter form has been traditionally represented by two types, the monk and the canon. But contemporaneously a new form of communal monasticism has appeared, the friar, as exemplified by the Minorites. Hence, the author's exposition of the forms of religion in the Church is four-fold: hermits and three types of cenobites. While single chapters are devoted to the hermit and to the Franciscan, Jacques de Vitry presents numerous examples to typify the monk and the canon, hinging upon the two classic and traditional Rules, that of Saint Benedict and that of Saint Augustine. Here again the reasoned arrangement of material by the author can be observed. After noting his plan in the thirteenth chapter, he reserves his consideration of the Benedictines to the end of the seven chapters devoted to the monks, in order to place it in juxtaposition to the following chapters on the canons, for he begins with the regular Augustinian canons in first place among those orders following Augustine's way of life.

Of the seven chapters dedicated to the life of the monks, two treat of the Cistercians and four consider orders based on or similar to the Rule of Cîteaux. This selection underscores Jacques de Vitry's

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<sup>1</sup> For a proposal concerning a better division of the chapters in this section see chapter three, p. 63.

strong predilection for and acquaintance with that form of monasticism<sup>1</sup>. This might possibly be explained by the fact that the Cistercians still impinged more strongly on the mind of the man of the early thirteenth century, while the Benedictines had lost their previous favored position. Thus, in the single chapter given to the monks of Saint Benedict the author opens the tract with a consideration of a reform group, the monks of Thiron. The four congregations chosen as examples of orders based on the Rule of Cîteaux seem to have been selected to illustrate varied types. Calatrava exemplifies the military order, Val-des-Choux a modified structure of Cistercian organization, Grandmont a curious emphasis on the role of the *conversus*, and the Chartreuse, though eremitical to a high degree, nevertheless parallels the Cistercian in some ascetical practices.

As Jacques de Vitry himself was an Austin canon, it is not surprising that he devotes the greatest number of chapters – eleven – to the canonical form of life. Echoing the liturgy, he refers to their mode of life as the royal middle path (*media et regia via*, p. 130, 12). The section opens with the treatment of the canons regular and closes with the canons secular and canonesses, with eight forms of canonical life intervening to depict those groups which, though based on the Rule of Saint Augustine, have added to it diverse or novel forms of the apostolate. Thus, Prémontré and Arrouaise have introduced new organizational forms, the Victorines and the Bologna canons stress an intellectual activity, the Trinitarians and the Order of Santiago are devoted to contacts with the Saracen, the Humiliati and the hospital congregations have a strong lay element or combine diversified activity and organization within the framework of the Rule<sup>2</sup>.

The Franciscans, likewise laic in their inception, are considered a few chapters after the Humiliati and the hospital foundations. Undoubtedly the Friars Minor had had a tremendous impact on Jacques de Vitry, not only because of his experience in Italy and at Damietta,

<sup>1</sup> Canivez, p. 396; DHGE, XII, 931.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Sermo ad canonicos regulares* Jacques de Vitry lists seven congregations based on the Rule of Saint Augustine: Prémontré, Grandmont, Saint Victor, Arrouaise, Val-des-Ecoliers, Val-des-Choux, and the Dominicans. In the *Historia Occidentalis*, however, Grandmont and Val-des-Choux are listed as congregations of monks, based on the Rule of Saint Benedict. The two orders are more strictly monastic than canonical. The sermon is partly printed in Pitra, pp. 385–90. See also Mandonnet, Saint Dominique, II, 195.

but also because they presented a revolutionary form of monachism. The chapter concerned with them is lengthy, and he clearly sees in them a great hope for the renewal of Christian life, which the various mendicant orders eventually did accomplish.

This selective process of Jacques de Vitry in choosing varied types of orders for his consideration can be seen in the ones he actually includes. The two military orders, Calatrava and Santiago, illustrate that form, but one follows the monastic, the other the canonical rule. The Humiliati and the Bologna canons typify preaching activity. The Humiliati and the Franciscans point out the inclusion of lay elements. While the Cistercians or Benedictines depict the more unusual monastic forms, Grandmont and the Humiliati show congregations with novel aspects. All orders of monasticism are not included. One can turn to the *Historia Orientalis*, for example, to find chapters on four other religious organizations: the hermits of Mount Carmel (ch. 52), the Knights Hospitaller of Saint John (ch. 64), the Knights Templar (ch. 65), and the Teutonic Knights (ch. 66).

The final section of the *Historia Occidentalis* turns to the order of secular persons, or religious in the broad sense of the term. All Christians follow the Rule of Jesus Christ, the Rule of the Gospel, each individual, class, or special group making its own ordinances according to the proper vocation or avocation in life. After a brief introductory section giving some examples, the author commences to treat in the first place the order of the priesthood or, more precisely, the diocesan clergy<sup>1</sup>.

The schema of this portion, however, is incomplete, and there is no indication in the text we have to help us fill the gap. In the thirty-fourth chapter (p. 166, 19-21) Jacques de Vitry states that the Rule of the priest is four-fold, yet in this place he mentions merely the first item, prayer (p. 166, 21-24). It can reasonably be presumed that the second function is the administration of the Sacraments, for in the thirty-fifth chapter, after completing his treatises on prayer, the Divine Office, and the Mass with its ceremonies and vestments, he uses the transitional word "second" (p. 184, 26). As the tract on the Sacraments is not complete, there is no clue as to what were the third and fourth duties of the clerical Rule as conceived by Jacques

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<sup>1</sup> For a proposal concerning a better division of the chapters in this section see chapter three, pp. 63-64.

de Vitry. The plan for his consideration of the Holy Eucharist given in the thirty-eighth chapter (p. 218, 8-10) is carried out, although, as seen above, there is no assurance that the final section was fully terminated.

Funk pauses to conjecture why the author passes from a historical to a theological presentation when a consideration of the sacramental system was not explicitly mentioned in the prologue. He does concede that the transition is logically executed<sup>1</sup>. Still, it can be mentioned that the sacramental tract does contribute to intellectual history. Likewise, the celebration of the Mass with the confecting of the Eucharist and the channeling of grace to the faithful through the other six Sacraments is the primary function of the priesthood. Thus, just as the liturgical and ascetical practices of the monastic regulars are the typical activities of that mode of life, so the prayer for the people and the mediating of grace through the Sacraments pertains to that of the secular clergy. Lastly, an investigation of the complete manuscript tradition, not available to Funk, shows that the section on the Sacraments does form an integral part of the second book, testifying once more to the careful planning of the author<sup>2</sup>.

### C. Characteristics of the *Historia Occidentalis*

Though the second book carries the title *Historia Occidentalis*, some critics have questioned the aptness of such a designation. While Guizot in the introduction to his French translation of the first eleven chapters justly points out that it is less a history than the *Historia Orientalis*, he is harsher in his critique when he rejects the inclusion of the subsequent chapters in his edition. It lacks interest, is but a series of Scriptural quotations, a history of religious orders, a summary of the dogmas and practices of the Church. "One finds there no historic fact"<sup>3</sup>. Such a view could find acceptance in the narrower concept of the early nineteenth century as to what history is or a history ought to be, but in the broader approach of the present century one could readily agree that the work is true history, for it

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<sup>1</sup> Funk, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Funk, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Guizot, Vol. XXII, pp. x, 312 note.

falls within the notion of social, institutional, and intellectual history <sup>1</sup>. One can afford to be a severe judge in view of our relatively rich deposit of information on the medieval period, but a future age after a possible widespread destruction of documentary evidence might easily treasure such a work. The portrayal of social and moral decay, of rather noble personages such as Fulk, of the internal regimen of the various monastic foundations, the discussion of theological and heretical opinions can all be considered documentary. The oft-cited passages on the life at Paris, the nations at the university, and the predatory habits of the feudal nobility are all evidence enough of value.

The title of the book might be criticized in regard to the scope of the contents. It is not a general history of the West, that is, Europe, but is rather a church history and, indeed, not of the Church in Europe as a whole but limited to the areas with which the author was personally acquainted <sup>2</sup>. Thus, place-names, institutions, persons mentioned are usually restricted to northwest Europe.

In connection with these doubts it can be said that Jacques de Vitry has the qualifications of a good historian, as seen above <sup>3</sup>. He is quite objective, pointing out not only virtue but also defects, as in the case of Fulk. He does not withhold criticism of his own class, such as the theologians of Paris, clergy and prelates, and even of his own congregation, the canons regular. Though his style might often be criticized as overdrawn bombast, he does impress the reader as a man who observes, who draws very often his information from personal experience and acquaintance, and as one who has a keen sense of reality.

It might be objected here, however, that there are indications of excessive credulity <sup>4</sup>. Some of the *exempla* and anecdotes he employs might not be palatable to our modern rational and scientific outlook,

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<sup>1</sup> Hampe considers the second book of greater value than the *Historia Orientalis*, for it is more original and less dependent on other sources. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 8 (1910), *Miszelle*, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 11-15.

<sup>4</sup> "Jacques shared fully the predilection - and credulity - of his age. ... his mind suffered from the limitations which the naivete and coarse eschatology of the high Middle Ages could impose." McDonnell, p. 32.

yet even in that epoch such stories were not to be taken strictly in a literal sense. He does mention an oriental people who can sustain life merely by the odor of apples (p. 231,2-3), yet he carefully qualifies the assertion with *dicuntur esse*. In the light of the anthropological and zoological lore of the day, it is possible that Jacques may have partially believed it, or at least thought it worthy of mention should there be some kernel of truth or some substratum to the report. But an author who has such a keen eye for the weaknesses and foibles of mankind must be taken seriously. His graphic portrayal of the cancer of excessive monastic riches, of the false, avaricious prelate or contentious religious, of the rambunctious university students and proud professors mark him as an outstanding critic of the human scene. One has the feeling he might have personally experienced the choral duel of canons versus canonesses (p. 157,13-20). His humanity is likewise reflected in his wry sense of humor, as seen in his remarks about the thumbs of Saint Mark (pp. 151,20-152,2), or his rejoinder to the casuist quibbling about the valid distance from the altar for the consecration of the Sacred Species (p. 240,23-26).

Wit, however, is but a minor aspect of the literary style of Jacques de Vitry<sup>1</sup>. A strong rhetorical or oratorical mode is the single outstanding characteristic. Yet a simpler, less pretentious narrative style can be noted in his exposition of the life of the monasteries, while a third expository or magisterial style can be marked in the section on the Sacraments. Here the style can be difficult, partly because of the subject matter under discussion. Nevertheless, it is not so intertwined or complex as that of his oratorical approach, a relic of his pulpit career, where long, drawn sentences and mounting crescendos of partly exaggerated material finds a place.

The rhetorical style usually occurs when Jacques de Vitry departs from the factual and renders judgment, favorable or unfavorable, on some persons or classes of people. In this style, too, one finds the most generous employment of Sacred Scripture, a rich treasury for the praise of the virtuous or for the condemnation of the wicked. Many of his passages of lament or of soaring encomium are but mere concatenations of Scriptural paraphrases one after another<sup>2</sup>. It is

<sup>1</sup> B. Hauréau, *Journal des savants*, 1888, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> See the entire first chapter, pp. 73-77, or the opening sentences of the eighth chapter on Peter Cantor, p. 94.

thus understandable that the sapiential and the prophetic books are more favored than the historical. The paraphrase is the favorite mode of quoting the Bible, and there is sufficient indication that the author does it by heart. An interesting comparison is the *de lacu fecis et miserie* of Jacques (p. 103,7) and the *de lacu miserie et de luto fecis* of Psalm 39. Yet this passage indicates that he paraphrases with a purpose, for it would have been thoroughly familiar to him from his daily recital of the breviary.

Stylistically, the text of the *Historia Occidentalis* reflects a humanistic and classical accent more than the simple, direct manner of medieval expository writings<sup>1</sup>. Long, complex, interwoven sentences are an earmark of the author. At times the agreement of verb tenses seems confusing, but grammatical justification can be found for the structure<sup>2</sup>. Some phrasing of the author tends to be repetitive and hackneyed, such as the frequent use of *in hymnis, psalmis et canticis spriritualibus, odor suavitatis, paradisus deliciarum*. The terminations of the eleventh and the thirteenth chapters, not too far apart from one another, are almost identical<sup>3</sup>.

As the vocabulary of Jacques de Vitry in the *Historia Occidentalis* is not highly specialized or characterized by any exceptional use of rare words, a glossary has not been appended to this edition. After eliminating for consideration words of common medieval usage (e.g., *apostolicum*) or words found in the Vulgate version of the Bible (e.g., *lepra, mergulus*), four unusual words only could be noted: *Francinus* for *Franciscus* (p. 161,15), *Iobitis* (p. 195,22), *scandaliis* (p. 182,6), and *viscarium* (p. 135,12). For these cases and for a few other instances where uncommon words, meanings, or spellings occur comments are supplied in the third apparatus (see p. 61).

<sup>1</sup> *écrit avec pureté, quelquefois même avec élégance*, Michaud, I, 169. Jacques de Vitry reflects his literary taste throughout his various writings with frequent citations from the classics, the Fathers of the Church, and from contemporary medieval literature. Hauréau notes his predilection for long periods and sentences, while his harmonious style is akin to that of Saint Bernard. B. Hauréau, *Journal des savants*, 1888, pp. 411-12. For sample passages in the *Historia Occidentalis*, see pp. 79, 23; 85, 5; 85, 23-86, 2; 127, 8-13; 191, 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 97, 13-15, and 151, 20-23.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 108, 9-13, and 111, 18-20.

### D. The Sources of the *Historia Occidentalis*

There is no direct evidence of a borrowing of material by Jacques de Vitry in the composition of the *Historia Occidentalis*. The book has the character of an original production based on the author's own experience and observation. His years of study at such an international center as Paris, his pastoral ministry and contacts with the movement of feminine piety in the Lowlands, and his preaching activity, especially in connection with the Albigensian and the Fifth Crusade, brought him in touch with people, movements, and institutions denied to persons of a more static way of life. His connections with the Cistercian nuns in the north, his observing of the Humiliati and the Franciscans on his journey into Italy in 1216, the account of Saint Francis' preaching before the sultan in Egypt, his approval of the religious fervor of the Augustinians of Saint Nicholas at Oignies all indicate first hand knowledge. Not to be excluded are his remarks about the canons of Saint Victor, the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly and his disciples, his impressions of social and academic life at Paris, and the abuses and failings of the various social classes of his time.

Many of the passages of the second book have a parallel in other writings of the author. The sections of high rhetorical flight have the earmarks of sermon technique <sup>1</sup>, while several chapters on the various religious bodies do have counterparts in his sermons, such as the *Sermo ad canonicos regulares* and the *Sermo ad fratres minores* <sup>2</sup>. No attempt has been made in this study, however, to investigate the possible incorporation in the *Historia Occidentalis* of portions of other writings of Jacques de Vitry.

In the critical apparatus of the text there has been duly noted, as far as they have been indentified, the various sources quoted or used by the author in the second book. Here can be found the manifold citation of Holy Scripture, the fifty-odd passages from patristic or ecclesiastical literature, the quotation of papal and conciliar pronouncements, liturgical material, passages reminiscent of the Benedictine and Augustinian Rules, and literary quotations from Pliny and Giraldus Cambrensis.

<sup>1</sup> The passage, p. 140, 15-24, is suggestive of sermon material.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermones* 30 and 35 in Pitra, pp. 387, 400.



The last few chapters on the Sacraments require a deeper study as to a possible borrowing from or dependence on others by Jacques de Vitry. Their scholastic nature and tone, so different from the accent of the earlier chapters, might reflect his own studies during his university years or could be borrowed from an earlier writer<sup>1</sup>. In this connection Funk suggests Hugh of Saint Victor, Peter Lombard, or Abelard<sup>2</sup>, though Peter Cantor, Alger of Liège, or Lanfranc would be worthy of investigation. A thorough research into the nature and the sources of this concluding theological portion of the History would lead us too far afield in this introduction. A pertinent presentation will be offered in a future, independent essay.

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<sup>1</sup> Note the formal definition of baptism on p. 193, 24-26. Many of the patristic passages cited follow the wording of Gratian's *Decretum* rather than the actual wording of the Fathers quoted, indicating a recollection of his textbook study than a direct quotation from the authors.

<sup>2</sup> Funk, p. 154.

### CHAPTER III

## EDITORIAL BASES AND PRINCIPLES

### A. The Manuscript Tradition and Filiation

#### *1. The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreviata*

As the History of Jacques de Vitry had never before been edited critically, there existed no comprehensive listing of all the extant manuscripts. Two inventories were drawn up in the nineteenth century by Potthast and Röhricht, the former containing thirty-five manuscripts, the latter 130 in Latin and three in French <sup>1</sup>. These lists are incomplete, because of the greater number of manuscripts found in the course of this research. Secondly, they are inadequate, for several manuscripts have since acquired new numbers, some are now located in different libraries, and Potthast and Röhricht included erroneous entries or confused one manuscript with another. Röhricht does admit that his listings, resulting from a cooperative effort, may contain misinformation, because of his inability to check all the items <sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, both guides have been of immense value as starting points in establishing the manuscript tradition of the History of Jacques de Vitry.

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<sup>1</sup> Potthast, *Bibliotheca*, I, 634; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. ix. The following manuscript references of Röhricht are seemingly insoluble: Colmar 248, Madrid B629, Würzburg V.I.91. There is no Ms. 585 at Merton College, Oxford. Ms. Z.I.2 of the Escorial does not contain a work of Jacques de Vitry nor is it a Latin manuscript. The manuscript of Saint Martin, Tournai, undoubtedly is the present Additional Ms. 40075 of the British Museum. Ms. Montchal 274 is possibly the Ms. lat. 4963B of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

New findings have resulted from a close check of manuscript catalogues in several leading libraries of Europe and from a control of the greater part of the entries in Kristeller's guide to manuscript catalogues<sup>1</sup>. Other manuscripts have been located through communication with various libraries in the attempt to verify the entries of Potthast and Röhrich<sup>2</sup>. The search has been partly negative, for the process of identification also involved one of elimination<sup>3</sup>.

At the present time about 150 manuscripts can be listed as containing the History of Jacques de Vitry in whole or in part. The vast majority contain the *Historia Orientalis*, many have the first and the third book only, a few have but the third book, while twenty-four contain the *Historia Occidentalis*. The second book never stands alone; that is, it is always preceded by the *Historia Orientalis*. There is but a moral certainty, however, that all the manuscripts of the *Historia Occidentalis* have been found. Every catalogue has not been seen, errors of manuscript description have possibly gone undetected, and a dependence on the information supplied by libraries without a personal investigation of their holdings has often been necessary.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, new ed., rev., New York, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> An example is the identification of Ms. 431 of the Biblioteka Jagellońska at Krakow. The work of W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis*), Krakow, 1877-1881, I, 143, attributes the history to no one, although the library had designated Robertus de S. Remigio as the author. Through a control of the incipits and explicits noted by Wisłocki it could be demonstrated that the manuscript contains the prologue and the first book of Jacques de Vitry's History.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrich's reference to a manuscript at Vienna designated "Cm 440" illustrates the point. "Cm" does not designate a Viennese manuscript but is a symbol of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Ms. 440 of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, however, had been returned to Italy by treaty after World War I. Through a false lead an attempt was made to locate it at Trentino. Rectification of the error took the search to Naples at the Biblioteca Nazionale, where the manuscript now rests with the number Cod. Vindob. 49 Neap. Investigation of the manuscript proved that it contains not the History of Jacques de Vitry but that of Burchardus of Monte Syon.

## 2. *The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Occidentalis*

Of the large number of manuscripts of the History of Jacques de Vitry still extant twenty-four contain the second book, the *Historia Occidentalis*, in whole or in part, although the present location of one of these manuscripts has not been discovered. In a few cases notices of manuscripts of the History have been found in sixteenth and seventeenth century sources, but the manuscripts are today either destroyed, lost, or identical with one of the existing manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. Three manuscripts which survived until the twentieth century have been destroyed during the two World Wars. Ms. 10 of the University of Louvain was lost in the fire of August, 1914<sup>2</sup>. Ms. Mus. I of the Slezské Muzeum Opava (Troppauer Museumsbibliothek) was probably lost in the destruction of the library in 1945<sup>3</sup>. The notices of these two manuscripts do not indicate if the second book was contained in them. Ms. F. 152 of the Biblioteka Gdanska was most likely the victim of World War II<sup>4</sup>. The catalogue description, however, seems to indicate that it contained only the *Historia Orientalis*.

The manuscripts containing the *Historia Occidentalis* are presently concentrated in the Lowlands, northern France, and England. Subtracting two at the Vatican Library, one in the United States, and three in Germany, the remaining seventeen are found in this relatively small geographical area. Where the provenance of the ms. is known, it seems it has not wandered very far from its point of possible origin. The first or second half of the century in which each ms. was written will be indicated with I or II.

<sup>1</sup> Ms. K18 formerly of the Dominican priory at Vienna is an example. A short description of it is found in a catalogue of the library prepared in 1513 by Martin Purlawser. Gottlieb, I, 289ff.

<sup>2</sup> Archiv, VIII, 481; De Moreau, Bibliothèque, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> M. Boháček and F. Čáda, *Soupis Rukopisů Slezské Studij ni Knihovny v Opavě* (Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca studiorum Silesiacorum Opaviae asservantur), Opava, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, V, Katalog der Handschriften, Pt. 5, O. Günther, *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, Danzig, 1921, pp. 146-49. The manuscript was of the collection of All Souls Chapel of the Marienkirche. No doubt this is Röhrich's Ms. Omn. Sanctt. 152, Röhrich, Bibliotheca, p. 48.

*A* = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelf. 30.5 Augusteus.

Thirteenth century I; Gothic *textura* script <sup>1</sup>; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>2</sup>. Fols. 103r–128r <sup>3</sup>. The History of Jacques de Vitry is the second of several treatises in the manuscript. The first work is written in a hand differing from the others, and on the first folio appears the note: *Ego Widekindus canonicus et chorepiscopus sancti Gereonis hunc librum legavi ecclesie sancti Pantaleonis pro remedio anime me.* Though there are some similarities between the two parts of the manuscript, it cannot be proven that the second portion derives from the same donor or the same cloister. Could this be definitely established, this manuscript of the author could be dated from about 1235–1247, the period when Widukind flourished. What is factual, however, is that the manuscript in its present form did come to the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel from the monastery of Saint Pantaleon <sup>4</sup>.

*B* = London, British Museum, Additional Ms. 40075.

Thirteenth century I; Gothic *textura* script <sup>5</sup>. Fols. 50r–88r. The manuscript is notable because of the heavy corrections made both by the scribe and by the corrector. The earliest known possessor of

<sup>1</sup> Bischoff, Lieftinck, and Battelli have served as a norm in the classification of the types of script of the manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Pt. 2, Vol. II, Wolfenbüttel, 1895, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften II*, p. 313; *Archiv*, VI, 21; C. Schönemann, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Pt. 2, Hannover, 1852, pp. 14–15; Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. LVI–LVIII; K. Loeffler, *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriß*, Köln, 1923, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> The folios listed in the manuscript descriptions refer to the folios on which the *Historia Occidentalis* is found.

<sup>4</sup> Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, p. LVI.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1921–1925, London, 1950, pp. 21–22; *Archiv*, VIII, 61; *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Ashburnham Place*, London, 1853 (pages not numbered); *Serapeum: Intelligenz-Blatt*, 1862, n° 19, p. 148; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eighth Report*, London, 1881, Pt. 3, p. 74; Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue*, London, 1901, Ashburnham Sale, Lot 296; A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta, sive elenchus universalis codicum manuscriptorum in celebrioribus Belgii coenobiis, ecclesiis, urbium, ac privatorum hominum bibliothecis adhuc latentium*, 2 vols. in 1, Lille, 1641–1644, I, 98.

the manuscript was the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Martin, Tournai. Bearing the number 49, it then formed part of the collection of Joseph Barrois (1785–1855) of Paris. In 1849 the Earl of Ashburnham acquired the manuscript for his library at Ashburnham Place. It was sold at the Ashburnham sale at Sotheby & Co., London, in 1901 and at that time most likely passed into the ownership of Sir Thomas Brooke. Sir J. A. Brooke then inherited it, but in the sale of 1921 it was purchased by the British Museum.

*C = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Reg. lat. 504.*

Mid-thirteenth century; Gothic *textura* script, possibly of northern France or Paris<sup>1</sup>. Fols. 24r–33v (modern pagination, 361r–370v)<sup>2</sup>. The text is defective, ending in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Sicut pulvis* (p. 169, 2). The first evidence of ownership of the manuscript is its inclusion in the library of Paul and Alexander Petau, father and son and both councillors of the Parlement of Paris. In 1650 Alexander sold the greater part of his collection to Queen Christina of Sweden. Most of it went to Rome at the time of the 1690 sale of the royal library to Pope Alexander VIII.

*D = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 16079.*

Thirteenth century II; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript<sup>3</sup>. Fols. 40r–56v. The text is incomplete, ending in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Salomon ait* (p. 169, 2). Before coming into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1796, the manuscript formed part of the collection of the Collège de Sorbonne (Ms. 897).

<sup>1</sup> Inventario dei manoscritti Reginenses, Vatican Library; Archiv, XII, 285; B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols., Paris, 1739, I, 21; A. Raes, *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican, Réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles*, n° 325, Studi e Testi 238, Città del Vaticano, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> In the upper left of the first leaf is seen the number 325, obviously a reference to the number given by Montfaucon. The number has been crossed out. On the same folio in the corner is the number S. 46, the number of the manuscript in the collection of Paul Petau.

<sup>3</sup> Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, p. LXXIV; Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 21 (1870), 35–36; Archives de l'Orient latin, Vol. II, Paris, 1884, p. 143.

*E* = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. lat. 1157.

Fourteenth century I; Gothic *textura currens* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>1</sup>. Fol. 46. The manuscript is fragmentary, ending in the second chapter at the words: *adeo quod* (p. 78,5). The ending of the text is not at the bottom of the verso leaf, evidence that the scribe simply ceased to copy. The manuscript belonged to the Collège de Navarre before being added to the holdings of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

*F* = Bruges, Groot Seminarie, Ms. 12/60.

Fourteenth century I; Gothic *textura* script <sup>2</sup>. Fol. 150v. This very short fragment contains the chapter table of the second book, and a small portion of the first chapter, ending at the words: *iherosolima sicut roma* (p. 73,15). The manuscript is incomplete through the loss of subsequent quires. Its earliest known possessor was the Cistercian Abbey of the Dunes. On the binding is the coat of arms of Abbot Bernard Campmans (1623–1692).

*G* = Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 729.

Fourteenth century, about 1300; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>3</sup>. Fols. 38r–52v. The second book is incomplete, ending in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Sicut puluis* (p. 169,2).

<sup>1</sup> H. Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Vol. II, Paris, 1886, pp. 313–14 (the article of N. Voisin cited in the description does not pertain to the work of Jacques de Vitry); G. Haenel, Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae Magnae, Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur, Leipzig, 1830, p. 319; Archiv, VIII, 359. The latter two notices refer to the manuscript under its former number, 99 H. L.

<sup>2</sup> A. Voisin, Documents pour servir à l'histoire des bibliothèques en Belgique, Gand, 1840, p. 117; Archiv, VIII, 558; A. Sanderus, Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta, sive elenchus universalis codicum manuscriptorum in celebrioribus Belgii coenobiis, ecclesiis, urbium ac privatorum hominum bibliothecis adhuc latentium, 2 vols. in 1, Lille, 1641–1644, I, 185.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements, Quarto Series, Vol. III, Paris, 1861, p. 325; Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Saint-Omer, 1828 (?), pp. 18, 30;

The earliest known holder of the manuscript was the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer. In the monastery catalogue compiled in the seventeenth century (Ms. 813, library of Saint-Omer) it bore the number 640. It passed to the library of the city in 1790 at the time of the abbey's suppression.

*H = Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. Voss. lat. Q. 125.*

Fourteenth century II<sup>1</sup>; Gothic *formata cursiva* script; miscellaneous manuscript<sup>2</sup>. Fols. 108v–190v. The manuscript lists only thirty-six chapters, for the thirty-sixth to thirty-eighth chapters are united as one<sup>3</sup>. Huygens and De Meyier believe the manuscript derives from northern France and possibly from Paris. A Master John Graueran is known to have owned it at the end of the medieval period<sup>4</sup>. The next possessor was the Dutch scholar, Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), one-time librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden and later canon at Windsor, England. He sold some manuscripts to the University of Leyden in 1666, but the present manuscript together with the remainder of his holdings were sold to the university by his son and heir, Gerard, on October 10, 1710.

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T. Duchet, Notice du Manuscrit 729 de la Bibliothèque Communale de Saint-Omer, Bulletin Historique, Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, Saint-Omer, 1861, pp. 1015–36.

<sup>1</sup> Huygens dates the manuscript at A. D. 1350, De Meyier and Pertz at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 16; De Meyier, p. 16; Pertz, *Archiv*, VII, 137.

<sup>2</sup> W. Senguerd, J. Gronovius, J. Heyman, *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*, Leiden, 1716, p. 385; Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 16; *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1, Oxford, 1697, II, 66; *Archiv*, VII, 137; J. De Mas Latrie, *Dictionnaire des manuscrits, ou recueil de catalogues de manuscrits existants dans les principales bibliothèques d'Europe, concernant plus particulièrement les matières ecclésiastiques et historiques*, 2 vols., Paris, 1853, II, 328; De Meyier, p. 16; P. Riant, *Communication, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes rendus*, Ser. 4, Vol. XI, 1883, p. 26ff. A catalogue of the Vossian manuscripts in the University library is in preparation.

<sup>3</sup> The same combination of chapters is found in the tables of chapter titles of *Ms. E* and *Ms. L*, although the actual chapters are lacking in these manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> De Meyier, p. 74.



*J* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 551.

A. D. 1506<sup>1</sup>; Gothic *textura* script<sup>2</sup>. Fols. 77r-132r. Although the manuscript is designated "miscellaneous", the appellation is derived from a later disposition of the Laudian manuscripts in the library<sup>3</sup>. The History of Jacques de Vitry is the only work contained. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1629-1641, made four donations of manuscripts to the Bodleian. Ms. 551 was given in the first group in 1633. This gift largely came from the Rhineland, from Würzburg, Mainz, and Eberbach, but there is no indication that Ms. 551 derived from these sources. It does belong to a group of the Laudian collection containing a monogram, which Madan believes refers to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), who preceded Laud as chancellor. It is possible that this group of manuscripts passed to Laud from Herbert's widow<sup>4</sup>.

*K* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 16.

Fourteenth century; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript<sup>5</sup>. Fols. 120r-164v. The text is incomplete, terminating in

<sup>1</sup> A note at the end of the manuscript reads: *Explicit tercius liber hystorie Iherosolimitane magistri Iacobi de Vitriaco scriptus ac finitus anno domini millesimo quingentesimo sexto in vigilia nativitatib. m. virginis.*

<sup>2</sup> F. Madan, H. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Oxford, 1922, p. 59; H. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Pars secunda, Codices Latinos et Miscellaneos Laudianos complectens*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1885, pp. 397-98; *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1, Oxford, 1697, I, 71; *Archiv*, VII, 89; J. De Mas Latrie, *Dictionnaire des manuscrits, ou recueil de catalogues de manuscrits existants dans les principales bibliothèques d'Europe, concernant plus particulièrement les matières ecclésiastiques et historiques*, 2 vols., Paris, 1853, II, 306; *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, VII, n° 7, 1933, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript was formerly numbered ccvii, I.36, and 1376.

<sup>4</sup> For the provenance of the Laudian manuscripts see F. Madan, H. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Oxford, 1922, pp. 12-69.

<sup>5</sup> W. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Pars nona, Codices a... Kenelm Digby... donatos, complectens*, Oxford, 1883, p. 11; F. Madan, H. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts

chapter thirty-four at the words: *retinet et abscondit* (p. 169,1). Although the title of the *Historia Occidentalis* has the introduction *liber tercius*, this designation is due to the fact that in this manuscript there is a different system of chapter titles and chapter numbering than that of the other manuscripts, excepting *Ms. P.*<sup>1</sup> Thus, *liber secundus* begins at chapter eighty-three of the *Historia Orientalis*, and so the *Historia Occidentalis* is entitled *liber tercius*<sup>2</sup>. The History is not attributed to Jacques de Vitry, for it is headed by the phrase: *Incipit liber de ymagine Mundi, editus a reuerendo patre ac domino Petro patriarcha iherosolimitano*. The earliest known owner of the manuscript was Thomas Allen of Oxford (1542–1632), who numbered it 65 and A. 164<sup>3</sup>. Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665) received a number of manuscripts from Allen in 1632, and in turn he presented them to the Bodleian Library in 1634. *Ms. K* was of this group.

*L* = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 4955.

Fourteenth century; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript in different hands dating between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries<sup>4</sup>. Fols. 79r–87v. The text of the second book is incomplete, ending in the twenty-sixth chapter at the words: *martyrio seipsos ab-* (p. 141,17). As the text ends at the bottom of the page, it is defective through loss of the ensuing gatherings. Before coming into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the manuscript was part of Colbert's collection, numbered 2578. Colbert possibly received it from Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), royal minister, historian, and librarian of the king.

in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Oxford, 1922, p. 70; *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1, Oxford, 1697, I, 77.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ms. O* also has the title *liber tercius*. Similarly, the eighty-third chapter of the first book has the title *De descriptione terre orientalis*, but, unlike *Ms. K*, there is no designation of *liber secundus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ms. K* is the N<sup>o</sup>. 65 in Brian Twyne's catalogue of Allen's manuscripts compiled in 1622 (*Ms. Wood F. 26* of the Bodleian Library).

<sup>4</sup> L. Halphen, *Recueil d'annales angevins et vendômoises*, Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris, 1903, pp. xiv–xvi; *Archives de l'Orient latin*, Vol. II, Paris, 1884, p. 137; Hoogeweg. *Schriften*, p. lxi; *Archiv*, VII, 53; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1744, p. 21.

*N* = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. II944.

Fourteenth century I; Gothic *textualis formata* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>1</sup>. Fols. 216v–222v. The text is incomplete, terminating at the end of the sixth chapter (p. 90,13). The earliest known owner was the Cistercian Abbey of Saint Mary at Cambron, Belgium. In the nineteenth century it passed into the holdings of the English collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps, and was numbered 338 in his Middlehill library. In the course of the dispersal of the Phillipps library it was purchased by the Bibliothèque Royale on August 23, 1888.

*O* = Cambridge, Library of Gonville and Caius College, Ms. 162/83.

About A. D. 1300 <sup>2</sup>; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript in two different hands <sup>3</sup>. Fols. 194r–213v. The text is incomplete, ending in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Sicut pulvis* (p. 169,2). Like Ms. K, the second book has the title *liber tercius*, but unlike K, it has the traditional chapter titles and numbering. The manuscript

<sup>1</sup> J. Van den Gheyn, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Vol. II, Bruxelles, 1902, pp. 374–75; A. Sanderus, Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta, sive elenchus universalis codicum manuscriptorum in celebrioribus Belgii coenobiis, ecclesiis, urbium, ac privatorum hominum bibliothecis adhuc latentium, 2 vols. in 1, Lille, 1641–1644, I, 359; G. Haenel, Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae Magnae, Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur, Leipzig, 1830, p. 809; Archiv, VII, 96; H. Schenkel, Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Britannica, Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien), Vol. CXXVI, 1892, Pt. 6, p. 7; Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXIII, 664.

<sup>2</sup> The first six tracts in the manuscript date from the fourteenth century, while the last work, that of Jacques de Vitry, is somewhat earlier. James and Schenkel consider it to be of the thirteenth century, though it could stem from about 1300 or the commencement of the fourteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> M. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1907–1908, I, 186–88; Archiv, VII, 87; J. Smith, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1849, pp. 80–81; H. Schenkel, Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Britannica, Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien), Vol. CXLIII, 1901, Pt. 8, p. 10.

was once the property of William Moore (1590–1659), a former student of Gonville and Caius College and University librarian from 1653 until his death. The main sources of his manuscript collection were various monastic houses of England. He donated his holdings to the college in 1659.

*P* = Cambridge, Library of Gonville and Caius College, Ms. 133/73.

Fifteenth century I; Gothic *bastarda currens* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>1</sup>. Fols. 103–141. The *Historia Occidentalis* begins imperfectly in the first chapter at the words: *et teneret dominum* (p.76,1) and concludes defectively in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Salomon ait* (p. 169,2). In the text there are two lengthy gaps, from chapters twenty-two to twenty-four (pp. 134,18–138,11) and in chapters thirty-three and thirty-four (pp. 163,17–167,19). Both lacunae seemingly have resulted from the loss of one or more leaves in either case. Like *Ms. K*, it also has a system of chapter enumeration different from the other manuscripts <sup>2</sup>. As *Ms. O*, it was donated to the college library by William Moore.

*Q* = Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, Ms. V.a.113.

About A. D. 1400; Gothic *bastarda* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>3</sup>. Fols. 121r–202v. There is no clue within the manuscript itself as to the time and place of origin or previous owners. The earliest known possessor was W. T. Smedley of London, who possibly purchased it in a sale in 1918. In his library it was numbered 15. Henry C. Folger acquired it with others of the Smedley collection in 1924.

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<sup>1</sup> M. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1907–1908*, I, 143; J. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1849*, p. 60; *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1, Oxford, 1697, II, 128.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> S. De Ricci and W. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, Vol. I, New York, 1935, p. 445.

*R = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. 8245-57.*

A. D. 1489; Gothic *textura* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>1</sup>. Fols. 204v-241r. The copyist identifies himself as Anthony of Bergen op Zoom, cantor of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Korsendonck near Turnhout, Belgium (fols. 1, 87). It was completed on December 15, 1489 (fol. 87). Originally transcribed for the Augustinian canons, it later passed into the holdings of the Premonstratensian abbey at Tongerlo, whose armorial bearings can still be seen on the present binding dating from the seventeenth century. It then came into the possession of the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy, nucleus of the present Bibliothèque Royale, after the secularization of monasteries by the Emperor Joseph II in 1783-1784.

*S = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 198.*

Fifteenth century II; Gothic *bastarda currens* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>2</sup>. Fols. 91v-142r. The text ends at the conclusion of chapter thirty-seven (p. 202,10), thus lacking the final chapter on the Eucharist. The earliest indication of provenance is the library of the Benedictine abbey at Laach. With other Rhineland manuscripts it was confiscated in 1805 and sent to Paris. After the Napoleonic era it was returned to Germany, resting for a time in Düsseldorf, until it was added to the royal library at Berlin in 1819. After World War II it was transferred to Tübingen but recently was returned to West Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Vol. V, Bruxelles, 1905, pp. 40-42; *Archiv*, VIII, 511; *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Bruxelles, 1842, I, 36, in the *Répertoire onomastique des manuscrits formant la deuxième section de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Rose and F. Schillmann, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (*Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Vol. XIII), Vol. II, Pt. 3, Berlin, 1905, pp. 1013-16.

*T* = *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. lat. 10688.*

Fifteenth century I; Gothic *textualis rotunda* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>1</sup>. Fols. 83r–114r. The text is incomplete, ending in chapter thirty-four at the words: *Sicut pulvis* (p. 169,2). A table of chapters for the second book is found on fols. 203v–204v. There is no information about the manuscript's provenance or of possessors previous to its inclusion in the Vatican Library. A communication of the librarian points out that the initial letters are Lombard, or more precisely Milanese, with a French influence.

*U* = *Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 261 (251).*

Fifteenth century I; Gothic *bastarda* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>2</sup>. Fols. 96v–115r. Only the thirty-eighth chapter of the *Historia Occidentalis* is contained in the manuscript under the title: *Sermo de sanctissimo sacramento corporis Christi*. The only known possessor of the manuscript was the Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambrai.

*V* = *Namur, Bibliothèque du Musée Archéologique, Ms. 161.*

Fifteenth century II; Gothic *bastarda* script; miscellaneous manuscript <sup>3</sup>. Fols. 92r–113v. Like *Ms. U*, the thirty-eighth chapter alone is contained with the title: *Sermo magistri iacobi cardinalis de sacramento altaris*. The manuscript belonged earlier to the Cistercian abbey of Jardinnet near Walcourt, Belgium.

<sup>1</sup> M. Vattasso and E. Carusi, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, Vol. V, Romae, 1920, pp. 665–67.

<sup>2</sup> A. Molinier, *Cambrai (Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements)*, Vol. XVII, Paris, 1891, pp. 96–98; A. Le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai*, Cambrai, 1831, pp. 45–46.

<sup>3</sup> P. Faider, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Namur (Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques de Belgique)*, Vol. I, Gembloux, 1934, pp. 235–37.

*W* = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 118.

Sixteenth century; Humanistic cursive script; miscellaneous manuscript<sup>1</sup>. Fols. 150v–209v. The text is defective, terminating in the thirty-fourth chapter at the words: *Sicut pulvis* (p. 169,2). It was copied in 1549 from an exemplar at Santa Maria Novella in Florence under the commission of the Augsburg financier, John Jacob Fugger<sup>2</sup>. It later passed to the library of the Elector and is thus today the possession of the Bavarian state library.

*X* = Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 1652.

Seventeenth century; chancery cursive script<sup>3</sup>. The manuscript comprises selections from various authors concerning several religious orders: Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller of Saint John, Carthusians, Cistercians, Grandmontines, and the Victorine canons. There is a passage from the History of Jacques de Vitry for each of the orders mentioned except Grandmont. The excerpts on the Templars and the Hospitallers come from the *Historia Orientalis* (chaps. 64, 65). From the *Historia Occidentalis* derive the tract on the Carthusians (ch. 18) on fol. 85, the Cistercians (ch. 14) on fol. 243, the Cistercian nuns (ch. 15) on fol. 244, and the canons of Saint Victor (ch. 24) on fol. 257r. The manuscript was owned by Cardinal Charles Maurice Le Tellier (1642–1710), Archbishop of Rheims, who donated it to Sainte-Geneviève.

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<sup>1</sup> *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis. Catalogus codicum latinorum. Editio altera emendatio*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, München, 1892, p. 30; Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. LXXIV–LXXV; Funk, pp. 162–63. Hoogeweg erroneously numbers the codex 180 instead of 118.

<sup>2</sup> Hartig, pp. 272–74.

<sup>3</sup> C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Vol. II, Paris, 1896, pp. 114–15.

*Y = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. James 8.*

Seventeenth century (partially in 1632); cursive script<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript is a compilation of various historical sources from registers, chartularies, documents, chronicles, etc. Four selections of the *Historia Occidentalis* were copied: one in chapter seven (pp. 90,16–93,12) on pages 225–228; another in chapter eight (pp. 99,24–100,5) on page 228; a third in chapter nine (p. 102,4–12) on pages 228–229; a fourth in chapters thirteen and fourteen (pp. 111,10–112,4) on page 229. The manuscript was copied by Richard James (1592–1638), librarian of Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Cotton. Of the many James manuscripts now in the Bodleian Library forty-four are such collections of excerpts, mostly from historical sources. After James' death his manuscripts passed to his friend, Thomas Greaves, and were acquired by the Bodleian Library together with the Greaves manuscripts in 1678.

*Phillipps Ms. 8222.*

There exists today in all probability a manuscript containing a portion of the *Historia Occidentalis*, but whose present location has not been determined. It was last known to form part of the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middlehill, England. Phillipps most likely acquired it on February 10, 1836 in the sale of the manuscripts of Richard Heber at Sotheby & Co., London. In Heber's collection it was numbered 951. Owners prior to Heber are unknown. The description of the manuscript by Waitz in 1879 is the most recent and most complete of several notices<sup>2</sup>. It is written on parchment in script of the fourteenth century and contains the prologue and the

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<sup>1</sup> F. Madan, H. Craster, N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, Oxford, 1937, pp. 753–54; *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 2 vols. in 1, Oxford, 1697, I, 259. See also Ker, pp. 211–15.

<sup>2</sup> *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, IV, 596; *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart., Middlehill, 1837*, p. 124; *Archiv*, IX, 502; *Serapeum: Intelligenz-Blatt*, 1862, p. 179.



*Historia Orientalis* complete. The *Historia Occidentalis*, although its chapter table lists thirty-eight chapters, concludes at the end of the seventh. Other than this no further information about the manuscript is available.

The history of Sir Thomas Phillipps and his manuscript library is a most fascinating one. During his own lifetime he entered into numerous negotiations about the disposal of his collection. After his death various blocks of manuscripts were sold to libraries in Berlin, Brussels, Paris, Utrecht, etc., and it is evident that many were disposed of in private sales. This is possibly the case in regard to *Ms. 8222*. It is not found, to my knowledge, in any library collection, nor is it in the residue of the former Middlehill and Cheltenham libraries of Phillipps presently in the trust of Lionel & Philip Robinson, Ltd., London. Dr. A. N. L. Munby of King's College, Cambridge, historian of the Phillipps collection, who has attempted to trace as far as possible the present locations of all the Phillipps manuscripts, can supply no information.

### *3. The Manuscript Filiation of the Historia Occidentalis*

Although the extant manuscripts of the second book are numerous, the genealogical tree that can be constructed might be considered incomplete in view of the much richer tradition for the *Historia Hierosolimitana* as a whole. Thus, a study of the manuscripts containing the first book, the *Historia Orientalis*, would undoubtedly amplify and possibly correct the present attempt at filiation based merely on the second book.

In the tradition of the *Historia Occidentalis* it would be incorrect to speak of manuscript families. The number of significant variants is too negligible, the text is basically similar in all the manuscripts, and there are no lengthy or outstanding omissions or additions, radically different passages, or even a plenitude of opposing words to allow a clear delineation into families. It has been possible, however, to construct sub-families, for certain manuscripts stand out as singular, while others are so similar in readings as to permit a grouping. But while sub-families can be structured, there are many traces of a cross-over of readings from one group to another, some of which might be mere coincidence, though others point to a no longer existing exemplar.

The determination of the manuscript filiation was founded upon a four-fold sampling: three passages in the text of equal length plus an investigation of random variant readings interspersed throughout the text. The principal base is the first chapter of the text, for all the extant manuscripts contain it in whole or in part <sup>1</sup>. A portion of the thirty-eighth chapter was sampled, for it is the only part of the second book found in *Mss. U* and *V*. Because eight of the sixteen lengthy manuscripts – seven manuscripts are relatively short and even fragmentary <sup>2</sup> – terminate in the thirty-fourth chapter, a study was made of a section of that chapter. The latter two studies together with a check of random variant readings corroborated in each instance the basic branches of the family tree founded on the first chapter. However, the investigation of the thirty-eighth chapter and, still more, of the random variant readings brought into sharper focus the relations of *Mss. B, H, J, R, and D, O, K*. A study of the chapter titles and of the tables of chapters in the manuscripts which contained one proved an interesting confirmation of the families. Although the titles probably do not derive from the author himself, they are quite uniform with but minor variations in all the manuscripts.

#### a) *The Principal Manuscripts of the Filiation*

The interrelationships of the manuscript tradition of the *Historia Occidentalis* revolve about three key manuscripts, *A, B, C*, each being the chief manuscript in the sub-families designated *beta, gamma, delta*. Naturally, the earliest manuscripts, *Mss. A, B, C, D, O*, demanded first attention, but several later ones, *Mss. H, J, R, K*, called for some consideration because of striking characteristics <sup>3</sup>. While all but *A, B*, and *C* have been excluded, these other manuscripts either head groupings within the sub-families or serve as important links within the *delta* sub-family. The clearest oppositions were found to exist only between *Mss. A, B*, and *C*.

<sup>1</sup> *Mss. F* and *P* are defective in the first chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Mss. E, F, N, U, V, X, Y*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ms. K* has variants found in diverse sub-families or groups. *Ms. H*, while allied to *B*, is a somewhat independent manuscript because of particular readings. *Mss. J* and *R* frequently diverge from and improve the earlier manuscripts.

*Ms. A* represents a tradition quite unique in comparison with the other early manuscripts. Special characteristics are the variants produced by the addition of words which do not necessarily offer better or clearer readings<sup>1</sup>, the high number of inversions of word order, the frequent transposal of similar words, and the amending even of quite familiar passages, as the words of the Canon of the Mass<sup>2</sup>. An interesting feature, setting the manuscript apart, is the correcting of the quotations from Sacred Scripture. In the majority of cases Jacques de Vitry paraphrases biblical texts, often fitting them into his own grammatical context. The scribe, however, has the penchant for changing the readings to those of the Vulgate version of the Bible<sup>3</sup>.

*Ms. B* shows the least contrast to the other early manuscripts. Although it has few variant readings differing from *Mss. A* and *C*, the oppositions to it of the other manuscripts in their variants serve to set it apart. Moreover, unlike the case of *Mss. A* and *C*, no secondary manuscript is closely similar to it. It is a unique manuscript, for its readings are normally better, and it does not have the marked separatism from the common tradition as *Ms. A* nor the defects of *Ms. C*<sup>4</sup>.

*Ms. C* usually differs from both *Mss. A* and *B*, although its variant readings are chiefly the result of a higher incidence of error, frequent

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 87, 13; 105, 26. At times the additions reflect attempts at stylistic improvement of the text (p. 240, 25-26.)

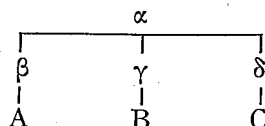
<sup>2</sup> Many of these changes appear to be the result of haste. See pp. 110, 18; 111, 4; 133, 16; 198, 13; 229, 6; 229, 20. Still, some cleverness is evident, for in the word-changing synonyms are often substituted or a participle is changed to a verb form. See pp. 105, 18; 125, 18; 126, 12.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 79, 16, 22, 23; 80, 25; 81, 8; 86, 18; 89, 19; 93, 1, and *passim*. Likewise, *Ms. A* corrects the passage from Saint Cyprian (pp. 221, 18-23). In some cases the revising comprises the addition of a word or a change in the word order (pp. 83, 21; 85, 17-18), at times the correcting is only partial or incorrect (pp. 111, 19-20; 135, 17; 164, 14; 177, 22-23; 196, 14; 217, 27). On p. 76, 13-15 it appears the copyist might have had in mind Isaias 33, 15 or Proverbs 21, 13 rather than Zacharias 7, 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> While marked by carefulness and soundness, *Ms. B* is not flawless. There are readings which are meaningless (*cantica*, p. 175, 14), numerous misspellings (*oppotentu*, p. 169, 8), omissions (*spiritus*, p. 209, 7), clumsy inversion of word order (p. 202, 20-21), useless additions (*et fallaces*, p. 143, 3), and faulty abbreviations (*uenerabantur* for *uenabantur*, p. 93, 9).

omission of phrases and sentences, and additions which do not improve the sense of the text <sup>1</sup>. Generally, it is a poorer text than *A* or *B* <sup>2</sup>.

In the process of selecting the principal manuscripts *Mss. D* and *O*, though early in date, were rejected as unique, because of their bond and similarity with *Ms. C* <sup>3</sup>. Of the later manuscripts *Ms. K* was excluded for the same reason, and *Mss. H, J, and R*, because of their dependence on *Ms. B*. *Mss. A, B, and C*, early in time, exceptional in character, and sufficiently diverse from one another, are the principal manuscripts heading the sub-families of the filiation. Kinship with one of these three determines the place of the secondary manuscripts in the genealogical tree.



#### b) *The Secondary Manuscripts of the Filiation*

In considering the interrelationships of the secondary with the primary manuscripts, the most useful variant reading is the *limited variant*, a reading found in relatively few manuscripts and definitely in less than half the total number of manuscripts under consideration.

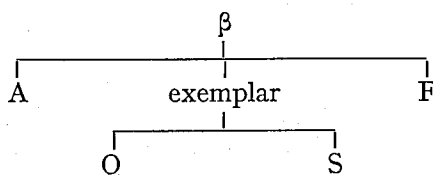
<sup>1</sup> See p. 84 in chapter five, p. 139 in chapter twenty-four, and the case of *malignum* (p. 87, 2).

<sup>2</sup> The mistakes are often unintelligent errors (*induebat*, p. 100, 2), and their cause might be carelessness or a defective exemplar (p. 112, 15). The scribe does not read his copy correctly at times (*ahumet caudam* for *ad humectandum*, p. 87, 14), is frequently confused by abbreviations (*grana* is read *generalia*, p. 113, 13), often corrects unwisely (pp. 113, 21; 121, 20), and seems to omit words arbitrarily (pp. 100, 18–19; 147, 5, 9).

<sup>3</sup> *Ms. D's* alliance with *C* is constant throughout the text and can be appreciated by a sampling of the variant apparatus. *Ms. O*, although very interesting in many readings, is quite untrustworthy. Abundant lacunae, some quite lengthy (pp. 131, 15–132, 6; 134, 10–135, 5), are often of such a nature as to render a passage meaningless (p. 120, 9–10). In a short sector in chapter fourteen the gaps and omissions are so numerous as to prompt one to discount the value of the manuscript at once. Lastly, a study of the variants shared by two or more of the five early manuscripts again indicate an alliance of *D* and *O* with *C* more than with *A* or *B*, thus precluding any unique status for them.

A *proper variant* is a reading found in one manuscript only. A *common variant* is a reading found in a majority of manuscripts and thus opposed both to the proper and to the limited variant. *Random variants* indicate readings studied in various parts of the text<sup>1</sup>. The *beta*, *gamma*, and *delta variants* are those readings found in *Mss. A, B, or C* and which are in opposition to each other.

The limited variants of *Mss. Q, S, and F* indicate a close alliance with *Ms. A*<sup>2</sup>. While *Ms. F* is extremely fragmentary, there is sufficient evidence to place it in the *beta* sub-family, both because of variant readings and because of similarities in the table of chapter titles<sup>3</sup>. *Mss. Q* and *S* are very close in nature and seem to derive from a common exemplar<sup>4</sup>.



Nine secondary manuscripts are included in the *gamma* sub-family, although their adherence to *Ms. B* appears tenuous at times. However, the common and the random variants and a paucity of the *beta* and *delta* variants provide sufficient reason for allying them with *Ms. B*. The nine manuscripts fall into two groups.

<sup>1</sup> These include difficult or confused passages, variants typical of one or several manuscripts, singular readings of *Ms. B*, omissions, additions, peculiar word inversions, odd spellings, use of synonyms, or where a reading of Moschus is at variance with the manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> *Mss. Q* and *S* are in almost overwhelming agreement with *Ms. A*, following it in every addition, omission, and inversion of word order. An interesting example of *Q*'s dependence on *A* is seen in the case of *medice cura teipsum* (p. 115, 7-8), which is written in the margin in both manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> While the limited variants of *Ms. F* are few, it does lean more to *Mss. A, Q, S*. The reading *dum* (p. 73, 4) is found only in these four manuscripts. See below, p. 56, for a consideration of the chapter titles.

<sup>4</sup> Four limited variants of *Q* and *S* are not found in *A*: pp. 75, 1, 3, 6; 76, 2. The reading *omnium* (p. 75, 1) is the correct biblical reading of Nahum 2, 10, thus a correction of the older manuscripts. Throughout the text there are numerous passages where *Q* and *S* are in agreement against *A*: pp. 79, 9; 105, 26; 186, 20.

*Mss. H, E, and L* have affinity with *Ms. B* and also show a close adhesion among themselves and in opposition to the other manuscripts of the sub-family, pointing to a common exemplar<sup>1</sup>. *Ms. H* seems the most striking and important of the three<sup>2</sup>.

*Mss. J, R, N, U, V, and X* form the second group. *J* and *R*, the more important manuscripts, are complete, though of late vintage, while the others are partial and fragmentary<sup>3</sup>. *Mss. J, R, N* show close similarities<sup>4</sup>, as do *Mss. U* and *V*<sup>5</sup>. *Ms. X*, composed of passages from the History of Jacques de Vitry, is included in the group but mediately through the printed edition of Moschus. The Oignies manuscript, from which Moschus had his text copied, in all probability belonged to this group<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In their limited variants the relations of the three manuscripts to *Ms. B* are somewhat weak, but the common and random variants significantly strengthen the bond. Their mutual adhesion as a group is more clearly seen in their limited variants. The close union between *H* and *L* is apparent in their placing of the first two sentences of the fourth chapter at the end of the third and in their agreement in a long omission (p. 106, 14–19).

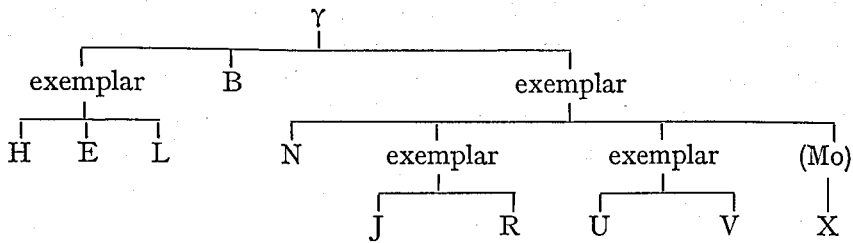
<sup>2</sup> *Ms. H* is of interest because of special relations with *Ms. B*, at times providing a better reading than *B* (see, p. 190, 25 and *subiugauerunt*, p. 164, 25).

<sup>3</sup> *Mss. J* and *R* often have better readings and correct the earlier manuscripts. Thus, they reproduce the correct reading from Nahum (p. 74, 1). See also *subiugaturi* (p. 164, 25). They also seem superior to *Ms. H* which often follows *B* in a poorer reading (*incarnabitur*, p. 233, 11).

<sup>4</sup> The adhesion of the three manuscripts to *Ms. B* is best seen in the common and random variants. Normally *J* and *R* are closely allied, but *N*, though similar in readings, is less strongly connected to them. *J* and *R* have the three additions of pp. 74, 7; 75, 11; 77, 1. Noteworthy also is their harmony with *H, E, L* in regard to *timeret* (p. 76, 1). The two manuscripts appear to derive from a common exemplar, having five readings in common not shared by *N*: pp. 74, 7; 75, 11; 77, 1. They have many common lacunae, especially the long omission of pp. 183, 1–185, 20. In the paraphrase of Sacred Scripture (p. 75, 10–11) both offer a reading more akin to Ezechiel 22, 25–27 rather than to the quite similar citation of Sophonias 3, 3 which all other manuscripts follow.

<sup>5</sup> The placing of *Mss. U* and *V* in the filiation depends on an analysis of chapter thirty-eight alone and in comparison with the six complete manuscripts: *A, B, H, J, R, Q*. Similarly, it is a question merely of determining whether they belong to the *beta* or to the *gamma* sub-families, for *Ms. C* terminates in the thirty-fourth chapter. The common variants present a stronger argument for adherence to *Ms. B* than do the limited variants. Indications point to a common exemplar for *Mss. U* and *V* (*conuertantur*, p. 205, 16) and to close connections with *Mss. J* and *R* (pp. 233, 11; 237, 4; 246, 5).

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 65–66. That *Ms. X* was copied from the Moschus edition



Eight secondary manuscripts comprise the *delta* sub-family. Although *Ms. Y* consists of short excerpts without a continuous text, the others, *Mss. G, T, W, D, O, K, P*, have the common trait of terminating at the same words in chapter thirty-four<sup>1</sup>.

*Mss. G, T*, and *W* have very close bonds among themselves and with *Ms. C*<sup>2</sup>. These three in turn reflect the great similarities between *C* and *D*<sup>3</sup>. *Ms. D* has strong connections with *Mss. C, G, T, W* but also shows ties with *Mss. K, O, P, Y*, thus playing a pivotal role between the two groups in the sub-family. The random variants, however, do bolster the impression that *D* has a greater kinship with *C* than with *K, O, P, Y*<sup>4</sup>.

*Mss. K, O, P, Y* show independent characteristics, weaker connec-

is a very strong probability and almost a certainty. In the margins alongside each passage except one there is a note in the same hand as the copyist indicating that the excerpt is from the *Historia Occidentalis*. Such notation could not of itself prove that the exemplar of *Ms. X* was the edition of Moschus rather than one of the manuscripts. But in three cases a page number is given which exactly coincides with the pages of the Moschus edition. Furthermore, the variants between *X* and the printed edition are minor and extremely few.

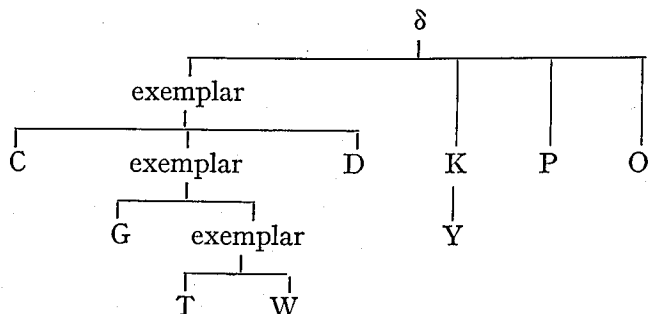
<sup>1</sup> ... *retinet et abscondit, quemadmodum Salomon ait: Sicut pulvis...* (p. 169, 1-2).

<sup>2</sup> See the omission of the last two sentences of chapter twenty-four (p. 139, 8-12). The agreement of the four manuscripts in their limited variants is exceptionally high. Each is not a direct copy of the other, and thus some intervening exemplars must be assumed. See pp. 74, 7, 11; 76, 13; 84, 22; 112, 9; 115, 26; 141, 1. *Mss. T* and *W* are so close in their variants that *W* would seem to be at first sight a copy of *T*. But it is known that *W* was transcribed in Florence while *T* seems to derive from the area of Milan. *W* also contains a long passage which *T* omits (p. 75, 10-12).

<sup>3</sup> In every case where there is agreement of *G, T, W* with *D* the same variant is also found in *C*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ms. D* leans somewhat more closely to *C*, and roughly half the variants in which *D* agrees with *K, O*, and *P* are found in *C*.

tions with *Ms. C* than do the manuscripts of the *C G T W* group<sup>1</sup>, and a very loose interrelationship among themselves. Still, their greater opposition to the *beta* and *gamma* sub-families and the readings of the random variants offer sufficient basis for their inclusion under *delta*, however tenuously. Undoubtedly, the study of the manuscript tradition of the first book could demonstrate clearer connections in this sector of the sub-family.



### c) Subsidiary Questions

As constructed, the manuscript filiation is viable and defensible<sup>2</sup>. However, some difficulties in establishing its exactitude have already

<sup>1</sup> *K, O, P* show stronger affinity to *D* than to *C* (see *a quibus funebris*, p. 78, 17). *Ms. O* omits *exigentibus* (p. 74, 2) and *hedera* (p. 74, 14). *Mss. K* and *O* introduce the *Historia Occidentalis* with *liber tercius* instead of *liber secundus*. *K* has readings proper to the other sub-families (pp. 74, 14; 76, 9). *P* and *K* have some close bonds, but *P* is not a copy of *K*. *K* and *P* have a system of chapter numbers and titles differing from the common tradition yet not in agreement with each other (see Appendix A, p. 249). *Ms. Y* is but a series of disconnected passages taken from the History of Jacques de Vitry and contains nothing of the first chapter, the sample base for the filiation. There is very strong evidence that it is a copy of *Ms. K*. At the head of the page where the selections commence is written in the same hand as the text: *Tres libri de Imagine mundi editi a Reverendo patre ac Domino Petro patriarcha Iherosolymitano*. *Ms. Th. Allen*. Such a title is found only in *Ms. K*, formerly one of Allen's manuscripts. Internally, the texts of *Ms. Y* do not exclude its dependence on *Ms. K*. Six readings indicate a close relation, notably the transposition *Galterius de Corchon et Magister Robertus de Londonia* instead of *Galterius de Londonia et Magister Robertus de Corchon* (p. 102, 11–12), a metathesis found only in these two manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Two typical readings graphically illustrate the filiation: *omne in precipiti uitium stetit* (p. 76, 8–9) and *in limo profundi submersi* (p. 135, 10–11).



been noted, and the problem of cross-readings should be given some attention.

Several variant readings defy the manuscript categories as erected, crossing over to different sub-families or from group to group within a sub-family<sup>1</sup>. These readings challenge especially the inclusion of *Mss. D, K, and O* in the *delta* sub-family and the dependence of the *H E L* group and the *J R* group upon *Ms. B*. They suggest the possible erection of these manuscripts into independent sub-families, and also seem to indicate a common exemplar, *beta-gamma*, for the *beta* and *gamma* sub-families.

Although such conjectures can be entertained, the evidence seems insufficient to justify their implementation. The variants can be explained as coincidental psychological and paleographical aberrations or a conscious betterment of the text by the scribes, especially in the case of *quondam/hedera* (p. 74,14) by the copyists of *Mss. G and O*. The appearance of *exigentibus* (p. 74,2) in the *H E L* group and its omission by *D* and *O* of the *delta* sub-family is a more difficult case. The phrase *peccatis exigentibus* also occurs on p. 111,13, and every manuscript has the reading. For this reason and because an addition is more difficult to explain than an omission, the word was retained on p. 74,2, even though it is not found in *Ms. B*. Its omission by *D* and *O* may be explained by their loose adherence to the *delta* sub-family. But it should be remembered that *peccatis exigentibus* was a standard phrase of the age and might have been added on p. 74,2 inadvertently by several scribes<sup>2</sup>.

Similarly, the agreement in readings in several cases between *A* and *B* and in opposition to the other manuscripts of the *gamma* sub-family prompt the consideration of erecting the *H E L* and the *J R* groups as separate sub-families<sup>3</sup>. Thus, four sub-families would derive from the common source, *beta-gamma*. However, even though *Mss. H, J, and R* often appear to be weakly allied to *Ms. B* and though *Mss. A and B* are at times in opposition to them, the evidence of the manuscript collation, even quantitatively, favors the present

<sup>1</sup> Of eight such readings in the first chapter the most significant are *exigentibus* (p. 74, 2), *quondam/hedera* (p. 74, 14), *teneret/timeret* (p. 76, 1), and *avara pariter* (p. 77, 13).

<sup>2</sup> The phrase is employed by Innocent III. See Kempf, p. 352, 20-24.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 85, 23; 142, 22-23; 164, 25; 175, 14; 186, 4; 190, 25; 234, 24.

arrangement. With a study of the manuscript tradition of the first book more data may be available to justify one or the other course, but at this time it is more judicious to adhere to the filiation as constructed.

Although the titles of the chapters of the text do not come from the pen of the author, their variations are of interest, for they quite faithfully reflect the manuscript relations as established and furnish a corroborative proof. It is chiefly through them that the fragmentary *Ms. F* was assigned to the *beta* sub-family<sup>1</sup>.

In the genealogical tree, *alpha* designates the archetype of all the extant manuscripts. It is to be hoped that the present edition closely approximates that archetype, but that it exactly mirrors the actual archetype or the original of all the manuscripts produced is clearly not provable. What can be proven is that none of the manuscripts existing today could be that archetype, for it can be demonstrated that all the earliest manuscripts are copies<sup>2</sup>.

There are two readings which may very likely stem from the archetype or from the apograph. The erroneous reading *a cursariis et piratis* (p. 80, 9-10) is found in all manuscripts without exception. The reading adopted in this edition is that of Moschus, and it might be justly supposed that Moschus himself so edited the reading in his exemplar, the Oignies manuscript. A second reading, found in every manuscript and also in the Moschus edition, is another sample. *Manus in manu non erit innocens manus* (p. 187,9) is not meaningful,

<sup>1</sup> *Mss. A, Q, S* read *orientalis ecclesie* instead of *occidentalis ecclesie* (ch. 6); *Mss. H, E, L* have *uallis uallium* in place of *uallis callium* (ch. 17) and the three combine the last three chapters (chaps. 36-38) as one; in ch. 15 *Mss. J* and *R* read *mulieribus* instead of *monialibus*, while *Mss. G, T, W, D* substitute *monachis* for the same word; *Mss. K* and *P* have independent systems of chapter titles, and *Mss. K* and *O* entitle the second book *liber tercius*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ms. A* modifies the Scriptural citations, and *Ms. C* is prone to incorrect and inferior readings (pp. 74, 16; 82, 13-14; 87, 2). The heavy marginal corrections in *Ms. B* are sufficient proof, although attributes of a copy can further be seen in *corpus hoc est meum* (p. 235, 18). Also the reading *regulares* in place of *seculares* (p. 152, 1) must be rejected, if the pun of the author is to have any force. Still, the superiority of its readings might indicate that *Ms. B* was copied from a very early or accurate exemplar, if not from the archetype or the apograph themselves. It is also possible that the scribe was copying from an exemplar very difficult to decipher, which might suggest that it was the apograph or that *Ms. B* was corrected from the archetype or the apograph.

but is far better when corrected according to the Vulgate to *innocens malus* (Prov 11,21). Thirdly, all the manuscripts and the Moschus edition fail to contain the name of the abbot of Perseigne, Adam (p. 102,12), an omission which could also possibly be traced to the archetype or the earliest exemplar.

## B. Principles Governing the Edition of the Text

### 1. The Text Basis

*Ms. B* has been selected for this role, not only because of its antiquity but also because of its general excellence in comparison to all the other manuscripts. It is believed to mirror the archetype best of all. Its superior quality was noted in the course of the manuscript collation, and that impression was confirmed constantly in the construction of the edition. *Ms. B* normally has better readings, and where the other manuscripts depart from its text their variants are for the most part inferior. The scribe himself is fairly careful, but the thorough checking by the corrector enhances the manuscript's quality greatly.

*Ms. B*, then, is normally preferred in the choice of a reading among other variant readings when it is not a question of an error, misspelling or less favorable reading. When *Mss. A* or *C* or one of the secondary and later manuscripts offer a better reading than *B*, it is chosen<sup>1</sup>. When there is a departure from the reading of *Ms. B*, it is duly noted in the variant apparatus of the text.

The deficiencies of *Mss. A* and *C* and the dependent nature of the secondary manuscripts serve as a negative proof for the excellence of *Ms. B* and for its choice as the base text. Positively, its selection is best seen through an analysis of its readings. In the course of reconstructing the text of the first chapter a reading of *Ms. B* has been rejected but nine times, while an *A* reading is rejected thirty-one times, a *C* reading twenty-seven times. Similarly, of the *beta* variants based on the readings of *Ms. A*, only one of a total of twenty-seven

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<sup>1</sup> Many readings of *Ms. B* have been rejected because of stylistic reasons (pp. 96, 15; 105, 2), because of a poorer reading than other manuscripts even though the reading of *B* is correct in itself (pp. 102, 5; 191, 24), and because of omission (p. 132, 6), addition (p. 149, 3), or faulty copying (pp. 139, 24; 161, 10).

has been chosen in preference to a reading in *Ms. B*<sup>1</sup>. Of the *delta* variants based on the readings of *Ms. C*, three of thirty readings have been selected over those of *Ms. B*<sup>2</sup>. Of the three *gamma* variants based on the readings of *Ms. B*, only one has been chosen, though the two rejected are actually simple paleographical errors<sup>3</sup>.

To illustrate further the better readings of *Ms. B* the following examples have been chosen at random from the text.

1. *cruciatus* (p. 79,23) has been selected rather than *cruciatio*, although the latter is a typical medieval word and is also the reading found in the Vulgate (Sap 6,9). *Cruciatus* better reflects the classical bent in the prose of the author.

2. *conculcati* (p. 86,6) is preferred to *conculcata* because of grammatical correctness.

3. *insufficiens* (p. 93,15) conveys the meaning of the passage far better than the inept *insustinens* of *Mss. A* and *C*. A verb form, *insustineo*, cannot be found in the dictionaries, though an adjectival form, *insustentabilis*, is.

4. *iniuriatus* (p. 122,21) shows the careful transcription of the scribe of *B*, whereas *A* and *C* read *iniuratus*.

5. *diligerent* (p. 126,24–25) is another example of care in the possible case of poor exemplars before the scribes, for *C* has *diligenter*, *D* has *diligent*, while *A* omits it.

6. *auxilium* (p. 151,2) is a correction made in *B* after *asilum* had first been copied. *Auxilium* is found simply in *A*, but *C* has *asilum*. In the context a copyist might be tempted to choose *asilum* rather than the more out of the ordinary variant *auxilium*.

7. *eis* (p. 148,7), added by *A* and *C*, is not found in *B* nor in *Isaias* 3,24, utilized by the author in the passage.

8. *et* (p. 158,16) offers a better grammatical and stylistic reading than *in* of *A* and *C*.

9. *adiuratione*<sup>2</sup> (p. 173,17) illustrates the carefulness of the scribe himself. At first he wrote *admiratione* but corrected it together with several other words in the passage.

10. *quam* (p. 228,4) rather than *quas* of *A* reflects the grammatical correctness of *B*.

<sup>1</sup> *contumeliam* (p. 77, 14).

<sup>2</sup> *sue* (p. 73, 8), *et* (p. 73, 16), *exigentibus* (p. 74, 2).

<sup>3</sup> *speciali*/*specialis* (p. 73, 7) and *assimulata*/*assimilata* (p. 74, 14).

## 2. The Three Apparatus

### a) The Variant Apparatus

The first apparatus contains the variant readings which diverge from those of the critical text. There are notations for all the manuscripts in the sample chapter, chapter one, but only for *Mss. A, B, C, and D* in the rest of the text. The other secondary manuscripts are noted in the apparatus where the random variants had been checked in all the manuscripts. Positive readings are listed in the apparatus when the reading of another manuscript is preferred to that of *Ms. B*. Likewise, positive readings are given frequently in the first chapter in order to illustrate the manuscript filiation.

In the apparatus all words of the text itself are left unitalicized. Each variant is followed by one or more letters of the alphabet in capitals to indicate the various manuscripts involved. All words not found in the critical text, such as abbreviations, are cast in italics. When a bracket is used, it indicates that the word preceding is the word adopted in the text, while the word following it is the variant. No bracket is used when it is obvious to what word in the text the variant is related. A single stroke (|) between variants means that the variants preceding and following it are located on the same line in the text. A double stroke (||) is employed to show the transition to the following line of the text. Arabic numerals elevated one-half space are utilized in two cases: to distinguish words when they are duplicated in the same line, such as, *et*<sup>1</sup> and *et*<sup>2</sup>, or when the same manuscript offers two readings, such as, *B*<sup>1</sup> to indicate the word given in the body of the text and *B*<sup>2</sup> to show the scribe added a different reading in the margin. An angle bracket is used within the critical text itself when a word not found in any of the manuscripts or in the printed edition of Moschus is chosen by the editor.

Normally all variants are placed in the apparatus. There has been no attempt to restrict the listing to strictly significant variants. Thus, all inversions of word order are given, as well as relatively unimportant variations as *ergo/igitur*, for they serve to illustrate graphically the manuscript filiation. Many variant readings are not listed, such as manifest corruptions and misspellings, errors caused by the omission of abbreviation markings, words or phrases erroneously repeated.

Misspellings are included when the result of the error is a word which does have meaning; e.g., *assimulata* for *assimilata*. Variant spellings of proper names are not included in the case of well known persons or places, as Isaias, Lombardy. Those of lesser known places or persons are listed. A reference to a reading of the Vulgate is given in certain cases when it serves to illuminate the variant readings in a given passage. Abbreviations employed in the variant apparatus can be found in the table on pages XXI-XXII.

b) *The Scriptural Apparatus*

Because of the rich and frequent use of citations from the Bible, the second apparatus is devoted solely to indicate the passages quoted exactly or indirectly<sup>1</sup>. When a passage is cited exactly as it appears in the Vulgate version of the Bible, it is enclosed in quotation marks. If it is paraphrased, no markings are used, and in the apparatus the symbol "cfr" (confer) is employed. However, a paraphrased citation from the Bible may appear in quotation marks, if it forms a direct quotation in the text. In this case the key to the passage cited is the use of "cfr" in the apparatus.

The mere reference to a Scriptural incident, such as the fate of Lot's wife or the history of Ananias and Saphira, are not indicated in the apparatus. When a citation may be found in two or more places in the Bible, the passage closest to that of the author's mode of quotation is normally listed. There are many phrases or pairs of words based upon Scriptural readings and utilized by the author almost by second nature, such as *uiri timorati*, *inter sanctum et profanum*, *falsos fratres*, etc. The Scriptural origin of these clichés is noted only the first time they appear. The abbreviations used in the second apparatus can be found in the table on pages XXI-XXII.

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<sup>1</sup> The following concordances were employed: F. Dutripon, *Vulgatae editionis Bibliorum Sacrorum concordantiae*, 8th ed., Paris, 1880; Peltier, Etienne, Gantois, *Concordantiarum universae Scripturae Sacrae thesaurus*, Paris, 1897; H. De Raze, E. De Lauchaud, J. Flandrin, *Concordantiarum SS. Scripturae manuale*, Barcinone, 1964.

c) *The Bio- and Topographical Apparatus*

This apparatus is designed for notations other than those pertaining to the critical text or to citations from Sacred Scripture. Here are indicated the sources of quotations from the Fathers of the Church, decrees of the popes and church councils, references to the sacred liturgy, monastic rules, ecclesiastical writers and theologians. Notices on *exempla*, verse, legends, vocabulary of the text, and other random items are also listed. Parallel places in the other writings of Jacques de Vitry have been given when they have been located by chance, but no systematic study was made to list all such readings. Biographical and topographical information with bibliography clarifying personalities, institutions, or place names in the text are presented here when essential and brief. For supplementary material too extensive for this apparatus crossreferences to Appendix C, Biographical and Topographical Notices, are furnished <sup>1</sup>.

### 3. *The Mechanics of the Text*

a) *Orthography, Capitalization, Punctuation*

These three items have posed special difficulties and in the last analysis have been largely solved by personal decision and preference of the editor.

In regard to spelling the norms utilized by the Oxford University Press in its Medieval Texts series have been followed for the most part. The spelling characteristics of *Ms. B* have been followed to the extent feasible. Thus, *hec*, *quatinus*, *opbrobrium* have been retained <sup>2</sup>. Where *B* has not been consistent, the spelling has been normalized according to modern classical forms. Thus, *cum-* and *im-* have been adopted because of the variety of forms, such as *cum-*, *cun-*, *com-*, and *in-*. For the same reason proper names have been normalized. Where *ierusalem* and *iherusalem* occur, the latter form has been

<sup>1</sup> See the introduction to Appendix C, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *sandalia* has been adopted instead of *scandalia*, which *Ms. B* writes in three of four places (see p. 182, 6) even though *scandalia* is found in medieval orthography.

selected, while the other form of the name which the scribe of *Ms. B* also uses, *iherosolima*, is retained when he chooses that spelling. The typical medieval orthography (*pre-* for *prae-*), found in all the manuscripts except the very late ones, has been followed instead of the classical style.

The system of capitalization has been decided by the editor, and *Ms. B* has not been followed as a norm. Persons, places, geographical terms in general have been capitalized, though the adjectival forms are in lower case lettering. Terms such as *deus*, *papa*, *euangelium* are in lower case letters. Books of the Bible cited in the text are in upper case lettering.

The punctuation of *Ms. B* has not been observed, but an editorial system based on the exigencies of the text itself. A free, open system of punctuating has not been possible, because of the markedly humanistic and classical sentence structure of Jacques de Vitry. His rather long, involved grammatical complexities have demanded a heavier use of the comma. When possible, longer sentences of the manuscript texts and of the Moschus edition have been separated into two or more, as the sense of the passages permitted. It is believed a clearer and more facile understanding is thus afforded.

#### b) *The Divisions of the Text*

Most likely the *Historia Occidentalis* was produced without any divisions in the text, and the traditional separation into the chapter system found in all the manuscripts came from another party. This system of division into chapters, though not without defects, is retained in the present edition, although a few suggested changes will be noted. For the convenience of the modern reader and to break the lengthier chapters into smaller portions, subtitles have been inserted. Likewise, a system of paragraphing not found either in the manuscripts or in the Moschus edition has been introduced. Lines of the text have been numbered to facilitate consultation of the apparatus and for purposes of crossreference.

*Ms. B* has been followed for the readings of the traditional chapter titles with but a few departures. As roughly half the extant manuscripts contain a table of chapter titles either before the first book or immediately preceding the second book, one has been supplied. *Ms. B* has no table of titles, but one has been drawn up for this edition



with the titles as they appear in the text, namely the readings of *Ms. B*. Justification for this procedure is based on the fact that there is minimal variation between titles in the text and the table of titles in the various manuscripts.

The traditional division into chapters in several places is not fortunate, and some chapter titles are unsatisfactory. There are two areas in particular where rectification seems to be demanded<sup>1</sup>. Yet there is a reluctance to depart from the traditional structure canonized by the agreement of all manuscripts but two. This hesitation is further emphasized by the frequent citation of the work by many authors over the years, particularly of the earlier chapters. Hence, the following proposals are offered by way of betterment but without changing the established order.

The first suggested improvement is to place the encomium of Peter Cantor as the concluding portion of chapter seven, not as the introductory section of chapter eight. This seems reasonable, for the burden of chapters six and eight is the life and activity of Fulk of Neuilly, while chapter seven treats of conditions at Paris and its university and serves as a backdrop for the history of Fulk. The closing section of chapter seven considers the theologians of Paris in a rather unfavorable light, but the last sentence does have something more positive to say. The praise of Peter Cantor continues in the same vein and so could rightly be placed at the end of the seventh chapter. This proposal would also rectify the rather unsatisfactory title of chapter eight, for that chapter deals primarily with Fulk, not with Peter.

The second recommended revision concerns the treatment of the Sacraments in the thirty-fourth to the thirty-sixth chapters. The traditional division of the text is as follows:

Ch. 34 Priests: prayer, the Mass with its ceremonies and vestments.	pp. 165-181
Ch. 35 Bishops: their vestments;	pp. 182-184
administration of Sacraments.	pp. 184-191
Ch. 36 Sacraments in general;	pp. 192-193
Baptism.	pp. 193-200

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<sup>1</sup> Moschus notes on p. 380 of his edition the desirability of there inaugurating a new chapter division.

The structure of chapter thirty-five does not seem very logical. The consideration of the episcopal vestments could be better added to that of the priestly vestments, and the administration of the Sacraments pertains not only to bishops but also to the priestly order. The entire chapter might be better joined with chapter thirty-four:

Ch. 34 Priests, bishops. Administration of Sacraments.

Ch. 35 Sacraments in general.

Ch. 36 Baptism.

An alternate proposal would combine the section on the administration of the Sacraments with the treatment of the Sacraments in general in a thirty-fifth chapter:

Ch. 34 Priests, bishops.

Ch. 35 Administration of Sacraments; Sacraments in general.

Ch. 36 Baptism.

A third proposal would place the tract on the administration of the Sacraments and of the Sacraments in general in separate chapters, for the first concerns a practical dispensation of the Sacraments, while the second considers the nature and characteristics of all the Sacraments:

Ch. 34 Priests, bishops.

Ch. 35 Administration of Sacraments.

Ch. 36 Sacraments in general.

Ch. 37 Baptism.

These suggestions have been noted in the third apparatus in the appropriate places and an indication is placed within brackets in the margin where a proposed new chapter would commence.

## **C. Previous Editions of the *Historia Occidentalis***

### *1. The Editions of Moschus and Guizot*

The lesser popularity of the second book of the History of Jacques de Vitry is reflected in the editions and translations of the work. Neither Bongars nor Martène and Durand included it in their editions, nor are the vernacular translations as plentiful as those of the first book. There has appeared but one printed edition of the *Historia*

Occidentalis, that of François Mosch or Moschus, published at Douai in 1597<sup>1</sup>.

There is one vernacular translation, that of François Guizot, made from the Moschus edition in the early nineteenth century<sup>2</sup>. This version, however, is defective, for the purpose and interests of Guizot did not lead him to complete the translation beyond the eleventh chapter, where the author begins the treatment of the monastic life<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. *The Edition of Moschus in Relation to the Present Edition*

The edition of Moschus was based on one manuscript found in the library of the Augustinian canons of the monastery of Saint Nicholas at Oignies, Belgium. A copy of the manuscript was made for Moschus by the prior of the monastery, Antoine de Montifault<sup>4</sup>. Moschus gives no clue to the nature and characteristics of the manuscript other than that it was an "ancient" exemplar<sup>5</sup>. Saint Nicholas, however, had been the residence of Jacques de Vitry himself, and it is known that he made a donation of books to the monastery<sup>6</sup>. Thus, there would be the possibility that the Oignies manuscript might have been a very early exemplar of the work. But the nature of the Moschus edition would not sustain such a supposition, unless de Montifault, Moschus, or the printer, Beller, had made manifold adjustments or errors in the course of transcription, editing, or printing. The existence of seventeen lacunae in the Moschus edition serves to indicate a

<sup>1</sup> François Mosch of Nivelles is usually designated by the latinized form of his name. He was curé at Armentières, historian, and editor also of Jacques de Vitry's life of Mary of Oignies. See Foppens, I, 302.

<sup>2</sup> Guizot, XXII, 267-312. See also p. xi note.

<sup>3</sup> Guizot includes eleven chapters, though he oddly does not number the first and entitles the second as chapter one. Likewise, on p. xi of his "Notice" he states he has included the first ten chapters.

<sup>4</sup> Moschus, *Praefatio ad lectorem*.

<sup>5</sup> Moschus, p. 479.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques de Vitry donated books, vestments, and other sacred objects to the priory at Oignies, some of which are still preserved by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. For the document of Prior Siger of Oignies, 1243, see Martène, *Veterum scriptorum*, I, 1278-79. It is also given by Greven, *Mitra*, p. 219. For other bibliography see Appendix C: Saint Nicholas, Oignies, p. 293.

faulty manuscript or faulty editing. Still, the printed edition as compared with the collated manuscripts shows a stronger relation to *Ms. B* than to *Mss. A* or *C*. Thus, considering the thesis that *Ms. B* represents the best tradition, it might be concluded that the Oignies manuscript was closer to the archetype than the manuscripts of the *beta* or the *delta* sub-families.

Most likely the Oignies manuscript no longer exists. Certainly no manuscript studied in this present work can be considered to be it, for there are proper variant readings and lacunae in the Moschus edition which do not appear in any of the twenty-three manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript collation and the study of selected samplings in the text indicate that the Oignies exemplar of the Moschus edition adhered to the *J R* group in the *gamma* sub-family<sup>2</sup>. The conclusion is further enforced by a consideration of the lacunae found in Moschus<sup>3</sup>.

It is believed the present edition marks an improvement over that of Moschus. While the latter was based on one manuscript, the former has resulted from the collation of all manuscripts available at the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 74, 6; 75, 9; 143, 18-19; 201, 19-21; 203, 27-28; 233, 6. De Feller (1735-1802) believed that the exemplar of *Ms. F* (Bruges, Groot Seminarie, Ms. 12/60) was formerly preserved in the monastery of Oignies (Van de Putte, p. 158). To weigh the assertion from internal manuscript evidence is impossible at this time, for *Ms. F* contains but a fragment of the second book. It would be necessary to wait until the entire manuscript tradition of the *Historia Orientalis* be studied to see how closely it might adhere to the Moschus text.

<sup>2</sup> With the first chapter of the text as a sample the limited variants of the Moschus text agree most closely with *Mss. N, J, and R* (pp. 74, 8; 75, 21; 76, 9). A check of random variants shows Moschus principally in agreement with *Mss. N, J, R, U, V* (pp. 79, 9; 211, 21) and in a few cases closer to them than to *Ms. B* (p. 112, 24).

<sup>3</sup> In seventeen cases where the Moschus edition omits a passage, ten of these omissions are found in *J* and *R* and also in *U* and *V*. In one case *Ms. U* alone harmonizes with Moschus (p. 235, 3-4), and in one case *Ms. S* oddly shares the omission (p. 118, 5). Of the seven passages omitted in the Moschus edition but found in the same manuscripts, one is certainly a printer's error (p. 201, 19-21 and p. 400 of Moschus). It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that the other six omissions possibly were found in the Oignies manuscript. Thus the meaningless passage caused by the lacuna on p. 234, 20-21, *cum sanguis bibitur, cum non sit liquida substantia*, also appears in *Mss. J, R, U, V*. Furthermore, Moschus noted the textual problem in two cases and strove to correct the readings of p. 129, 8 and p. 143, 20 by a marginal note (see Moschus, pp. 318, 334).

present time. As already noted, numerous lacunae of Moschus have been supplied, typographical errors rectified, and less fortunate readings improved. Some false Scriptural references have been corrected, many missed by Moschus listed, and better references than those of Moschus supplied <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 94, 5 for Ap 21, 19; p. 118, 11-12 for Is 4, 6 rather than Is 25, 4.



SECTION II

THE TEXT  
OF THE  
HISTORIA OCCIDENTALIS





INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS  
IN CUIUS PARTE PRIMA  
OCCIDENTALIU HISTORIA  
BREUITER ENARRATUR

---

1 liber *om.* *AQ* | secundus] tercius *OK* | secundus *add.* magistri Iacobi de Vitriaco *R*, orientalis hystorie *C* || 2 in cuius ... 4 enarratur *om.* *CK* | cuius ... 4 enarratur] quo narrat breuiter historiam occidentalium *LE* || 3 occidentalium] orientalium *E*<sup>1</sup>, occidentalium *E*<sup>2</sup> || 4 narratur *AQS*, enumeratur *G*.

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## PRIMUM CAPITULUM

### DE CORRUPTIONE OCCIDENTALIS REGIONIS ET DE PECCATIS OCCIDENTALIUM

Cum igitur orientalis ecclesia, que quondam a finibus terre uenit  
audire sapientiam Salomonis, uariis casibus exposita et diuersis 5  
amaritudinibus oppressa et quasi absinthio inebriata, gaudium suum  
in luctum et merorem conuertisset, primogenita et specialis eius filia,  
iherosolimitana ecclesia, glorie sue uestimentis exuta, que, uariis  
carnificibus lacerata, fere nuda remanserat, «uelut quercus defluentibus  
foliis» et tamquam fluuius a suo fonte pene siccatus. Nichilominus 10  
tamen insatiabilis humani generis inimicus, serpens tortuosus, in  
partibus occidentis nequitie sue uirus perstiferum diffundere non  
cessabat, et, quasi capite uulnerato, membra sauciare modis omnibus  
satagebat.

Caput enim et mater fidei est Iherosolima, sicut Roma est caput et 15  
mater fidelium. Adeo enim dolor capitis in membra redundabat, et  
uariis flagellorum molestiis iram et indignationem suam dominus

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2 regionis ] ecclesie *E* || 3 de *om. DHEFGTWJNRO Mo* || 4 Dum *AQSF* ||  
6 et ] quod *L* || 7 in ] et *O* | lutum *L* | luctum *add. et T* | specialis *ACEFGH*  
*JKQRSTW Mo*, speciali *BDOLN* || 8 Iherosolima *CDGTW* | ecclesia hiero-  
solimitana *E* | sue *CDOGJKNRTW Mo, om. ABQSHLEF* || 9 quercus *om.*  
*CDGTW* || 10 fluuiis *S* | suo *om. T* | siccatus pene *K* | siccatus *S* || 12 deffundere  
*CH*, effundere *KT* || 15 Iherosolima ] ierosolimitana ecclesia *O* | Roma *desinit*  
*F* | caput est *AQSHELNJRK Mo* || 15-16 et mater ] omnium *O* | fidelium et  
mater *CDGTW* || 16 redundebat *D* | et *CDOGTWHELNJRK Mo, om. ABQS* ||  
17 molestiis flagellorum *AQS*

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4-5 cfr 3 Rg 10, 1-2 || 6 cfr Thren 3, 15 || 6-7 cfr Jer 31, 13 || 9-10 Is 1, 30 ||  
10 cfr Is 19, 5-7 || 11 cfr Is 27, 1

indicabat, quod, postquam in manus impiorum terra sancta, peccatis nostris exigentibus, deuenit, iustus ultor scelerum, «deus, ultionum dominus», mundum uniuersum uariis molestiis affligendo flagellauit, in Hyspania mauros, in Prouincia et Lombardia hereticos, in Grecia  
 5 scismaticos, ubique «falsos fratres» contra nos insurgere permittendo. Vt autem prophético utar eloquio, ita ad numerum confregit dominus dentes nostros, quod, postquam amissa ciuitate sancta, diminutus est honor ecclesie, et dentes eius prelati scilicet confracti sunt. Quotquot  
 10 pueri in mundo nati sunt, duos uel tres dentes minus aliis, qui iam procreati fuerant, habuerunt. Imminuti sunt dentes, confregit dominus omnia ossa nostra, «conglutinator est in terra uenter noster», pauimento adhesit anima nostra.

Hominum malitia modum excedens et ad malum prona, deorsum ferebatur. Arescebant ubera botris quondam assimilata, sordebat  
 15 euangelii doctrina, diuinis monitis passim ab impiis conculcatis. Argentum uertebant in scoriam, et aqua uinum miscebant. Omnem dei et hominum post tergum dederant reuerentiam, et facies sacerdotum non erubescabant, noxia sequentes et salutaria declinantes et ad deteriora procliui. Qui optimus in eis, quasi paliurus, et qui rectus,  
 20 quasi spina de sepe. Dissolutio geniculorum et defectio in cunctis

1 iudicabat *AGHRST* | in *om. S* | inimicorum *AQS* | peccatis *om. AQS*, peccata *O* || 2 nostris *om. AQSW*, nostra *O* | exigentibus *CGTWHLEK*, *om. ABDON JRQS Mo* || 2-3 dominus ultionum *AQS* || 3 uniuersum mundum *AQS* | affligendo molestiis *E* || 4 Hispaniis *J* || 5 circa *T* | surgere *O* || 6 eloquio ] reliquo *Mo* | ita ad ] inter *E* || 7 quos *K* | amissa *add.* terra sancta et *JR* | diuinitus *CDG*, minutus *N* || 7-8 est honor ecclesie diminutus *JR* || 8 prelati ] paulatim *JR Mo*, pallatim *N* | scilicet ] uidelicet *AQS*, *om. O* | scilicet prelati *E* || 9 pueri *om. JR* | duo *CGEL* | uel ] et *HL* | dentes *om. G* || 10 minuti *T* || 11 omnia *om. CDGTW* | est *om. GTW* || 14 quondam botris *AQS* | quondam ] hedera *CTW*, eddera *D*, edera *K*, *om. G* | assimilata *ACDOGTWNJRHEQS Mo*, assimilata *BKL* | sordebant *N* || 15 passi *L*, passe *E* | ab impiis passim *HEL* | conculcata *CGTW* || 16 uergebat *E* | omnem ] hominum *CGT*, hominis *W* || 18 loquentes *E* || 19 paliura *S*

2-3 Ps 93, 1 || 5 2 Cor 11, 26 || 6-7 cfr Thren 3, 16 || 10-11 cfr Ps 41, 11 || 11 Ps 43, 25 || 11-12 cfr Ps 118, 25 || 13 cfr Gen 8, 21 || 14 cfr Cant 7, 7 || 16 cfr Is 1, 22 || 17-18 cfr Thren 4, 16 || 19-20 cfr Mich 7, 4 || 20- p. 75, 1 cfr Nahum 2, 10

4-5 See the Prologue of the History for a parallel passage.

renibus, et facies omnium sicut nigredo olle. Deficiebat fides, extinguebatur caritas et omnis uirtus periclitabatur. In luto et latere et palea omnes fere pharaoni seruiebant. Aduerse potestatis et principis tenebrarum longe lateque nimis patebat imperium.

Filii Syon olim incliti et amicti auro primo reputati sunt in uasa 5  
testea. Effusum est in terra iecur eorum, errauerunt ceci in plateis, polluti sunt sanguine. Vitiorum monstra et abhominatum prodigia miserabiliter pullulabant, et orbem inuoluebant uniuersum. Facta est meretrix, ciuitas quondam fidelis. «Manum suam misit hostis, ad omnia desiderabilia eius». «Principes eius in medio eius quasi leones rugientes; iudices eius lupi uespere, non relinquebant mane». «Omne caput 10  
languidum et omne cor merens.» Principes eius infideles, socii furum. «Iacuerunt in terra foris puer et senex.»

Perierat de rebus iustitia, et timor domini de medio sublatus erat, et equitate subacta uiolentia dominabatur in populis. Fraus, dolus et 15  
circumuentio late inuoluerant uniuersa. Perierat sacrificium et libatio de domo domini, depopulata est regio. Luxit humus, quoniam deuastatum est triticum. Confusum est uinum, elanguit oleum, confusi sunt agricole, ululauerunt uinitores super frumento et ordeo, quia periit messis agri, uindemiauit inimicus uineam domini. 20

Virtus omnis locum dederat et cesserat quasi inutilis, malitia subin-

1 et om. K, add. in N | omnium JRQS Vulg., ouium ABDOKHELN Mo, ciuium CGTW | fides add. et AQS || 2 omnis om. G | et<sup>2</sup> om. AQS || 3 pheroni CON, pharoni S | potestates S, potentes Q | principes QS, principi E || 4 longe... imperium om. E | late quod L || 5 olei O | primo] puro KE | sunt om. N || 6 in terra est S || 7-9 Vitiorum ... fidelis om. W || 8 miserabiliter pullulabant et om. K | et] in C || 9 ciuitas meretrix AQS | quodam S, quando G | fidelis om. G | im-misit CDGTW | misit add. ad Mo | hostes Mo || 10 Principes ... eius<sup>3</sup> om. S | eius<sup>3</sup>] sui E | in medio ... 12 eius om. T || 11 eius] sui E, om. O | lupus G | lupi predam capiebant uespere et non relinquebant mane JR, rapiebant R | relin-quebant add. in Mo Vulg. || 12 furum] fuerunt H || 13 foris] procul AQS, foras HL, om. E, add. iacuerunt in terra foris D || 14 timore D | dei CDGTW | est CDOGTW || 15 sublata J, subiecta E || 16 inuoluerat CGTW, inuoluebant HLE | libano G || 18 est<sup>1</sup> om. O || 19 ubi lauerunt S | super] in L | qui S || 20 agri add. et HEL | uineis L, unicam G || 21 Vintus G | omnis] enim NJR Mo | cessauerat O

1-2 cfr Cant 8, 7 || 2 cfr Jdt 5, 10 || 3-4 cfr Eph 6, 12 || 5-6 cfr Thren 4, 2 || 6 cfr Thren 2, 11 || 6-7 cfr Thren 4, 14 || 8-9 cfr Is 1, 21 || 9-10 Thren 1, 10 || 10-11 Soph 3, 3, cfr Ez 22, 27 || 11-12 Is 1, 5 || 12 cfr Is 1, 23 || 13 Thren 2, 21 || 15-16 cfr Sap 10, 11 || 16-20 cfr Jl 1, 9-11

trante, non erat qui se opponeret et teneret dominum, et staret in confractione in conspectu eius. Opposuerant nubem ne transiret oratio.

Mundo autem declinante ad uesperam, adeo refriguerat caritas, et fides non inueniebatur in terra, quod filii hominis secundus aduentus  
 5 uicinus et quasi in ianuis esse uideretur. Filius contumeliam patri faciebat, filia aduersus matrem suam consurgebat, et nurus aduersus socrum, et inimici hominis domestici eius. Non distinguebatur sanctum a prophano. Quaecumque libebant, licita reputabant. Omne in precipiti uitium stetit, et quasi equus indomitus in preceps ferebantur,  
 10 trahentes iniquitatem in funiculis uanitatis, et quasi uinculum plaustrum peccatum. Omnes persecutores eorum, maligni scilicet spiritus, apprehenderunt eos inter angustias et «ducti sunt in captiuitatem ante faciem tribulantis». Noluerunt attendere, et uerterunt scapulam recedentem, et aures suas aggrauauerunt ne audirent, et cor suum  
 15 posuerunt ut adamantem. Cythara et lira et tympanum et tibia et uinum in conuiuuiis eorum, et opus domini non respexerunt.

Honestas morum et decor uirtutum quasi exulantes nullum inuenie-

1 erit *D* | teneret *incip.* *P*, timeret *JRHLE* | dominium *CGTW*, deum *L* | stare *C* || 2 confractio *add.* domini *HLE* | opposuerat *CGTWQS* | opposuerant *add.* in *P* || 3 declinante] transeuntes *P* | adeo *add.* et *G* | refriguerat. *add.* et *P* || 4 filius *N* | secundum *L* || 5 uicius *P* | in *om.* *D* | esse *om.* *P* | uidentur *P* || 5-6 faciebat patri *CGTWDOKP* || 6 suam *om.* *HLE* | nurus] socrus *K* || 7 socrum *ABCGTWHLEQS*, nurum *DOKNJRP Mo* | socrum *add.* suam *CGTW Vulg.* | et *om.* *HLE* | modesti *L* | distinguendo *CDGTW* || 7-8 disteguebatur sanctus *O* || 8 libabant *CTW*, libant *D*, libeant *S* | omnis *K* || 9 precipitium *AQSKP* | uitium *BHLENJR Mo*, uicinus *DOK*, uicinius *CGTW*, in cuius *P*, *om.* *AQS* | quasi *om.* *P* | indomitus equus *NJR Mo* | in] et *P* | princeps *O* || 9-10 ferebatur *AQS* || 10 iniquitatem] uanitatem *AQS* | funiculo *CDGTW* | uanitatis] iniquitatis *K* || 10-11 et ... peccatum *om.* *O* || 11 scilicet *om.* *AQS* | scilicet maligni *E* || 12 sunt *om.* *AQSNJR Mo* || 13 ante] a *AQS* | facie *AQS* | uerunt *G*, uiderunt *TW* || 14 aures *om.* *E* | suas *om.* *T* | aggrauauerunt] obturauerunt *AQS*, aggrauerunt *BT*, agguauerunt *D*, auerterunt *N* || 15 ut *om.* *DOKNP Mo*, in *T* | ad amantem *DOKNP* | et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *AQSE* | tibia *add.* et superfluitas cibi et potus *E* || 16 et uinum *om.* *E* | et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *CDOGTW* | non *om.* *CDTW*, ne *G* || 17 et *om.* *AQS* | exultantes *KN* || 17-p. 77, 1 nullum ... dominantia *om.* *S* | nullum *om.* *D*, non *CGTW*

1-2 cfr Ps 105, 23 || 2 cfr Thren 3, 44 || 3 cfr Mt 24, 12 || 4 cfr Lc 18, 8 || 5-7 cfr Mich 7, 6 || 7-8 cfr Ez 22, 26 || 9-10 cfr Eccli 30, 8 || 10-11 cfr Is 5, 18 || 11-12 cfr Thren 1, 3 || 12-13 Thren 1, 5 || 13-15 cfr Zach 7, 11-12 || 15-16 cfr Is 5, 12

bant locum, ubi uitia dominantia et late pullulantia omnia occupabant. Amicam celestibus et deo placentem continentiam, quasi rem uilem, pro nichilo reputabant. Vbi passim et sine rubore luxuriantes, tamquam sus in luto, fetorem delicias reputabant, et quasi iumenta in stercoribus suis putrescebant, thorum immaculatum et honorabiles nuptias pro 5 minimo computantes. Inter affines autem et propinquos matrimoniorum federa tuta non erant, sed et sexus discrimina libido preceps non curabat.

Sobrietate autem et modestia in transmigratione abeuntibus, crapula et ebrietas atria possidebant. «Sicut spine se inuicem complectuntur, 10 sic conuiuium eorum pariter potantium.» Omnes mense replete erant uomitu et sordibus, ut non esset ultra locus. Fornicatio, uinum et ebrietas, cor auferebant. Sed et alea pernox, auara pariter et amara deciorum anxietas, et casus inopinati, iram, fraudem, contumeliam et contentionem, et in deum sceleratas blasphemias prouocabant, 15 cultores suos in foueam desperationis frequenter inducentes.

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1 ubi ] nisi *DHNJRP Mo* | et late ] late et longe *JR* | omnia *om. H* || 3 Vbi ] Viri *Mo* | passi *L* | et *om. HLE* | sine ] sunt *L* || 4 quasi *om. E* | iumentum *HLE* || 5 putrescebant *om. E, add. et AQS* || 6 reputantes *OP* || 7 federi *L* | erat *L* | princeps *O*, preces *H* || 9 autem *om. O* | destria *L* | abeuntibus *add. et D* || 11 potentium *O*, potauerunt *S* | omnes *add. eorum S* || 12 locus *add. sobrietati E* || 13 et<sup>1</sup> *om. AQSL* | alia *AQSG* | pernox ] per *AQS, add. et W* | auara ] amara *HLE* | auara pariter *CDOGTWHLNJRKP Mo, om. ABQS* | amara ] auara *E* || 14 deciorum *AQS*, deceriorum *KP* | iram ] nostra *G* | contumeliam *AQS, om. BCDOGTWHLNJRKP Mo* || 15 et<sup>1</sup> *om. E* | contempcionem *KPO* | dominum *P* | celeratas *P* || 16 suos *om. AQS* | in *om. HLEN* | desperationis *add. suos AQS*

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4 cfr 2 Pet 2, 22 || 4-5 cfr J1 1, 17 || 5 cfr Hebr 13, 4 || 10-11 Nahum 1, 10 || 11-12 cfr Is 28, 8 || 12-13 cfr Osee 4, 11

## CAPITULUM II

### DE AUARIS ET FENERATORIBUS

Sed et grate deo et hominibus liberalitas, munificentia et largitas  
sublate erant de medio, radice omnium malorum, peste scilicet auaritie  
5 omnes fere occupante et cupiditatis ueneno inficiente, adeo quod,  
usurarum crimine pessimo passim et quasi licite auaros feneratores  
possidente, per hanc sanguisugam insatiabilem patrimonia et amplas  
hereditates milites amittebant, spoliabantur pauperes, depauperaba-  
bantur ecclesie, dum momentis omnibus pestis usure succrescens et  
10 quiescere nesciens, magis semper eos feneratoribus obligabat. Hoc  
autem fedissimum et reprobissimum genus hominum adeo ubique  
inualuerat, quod non solum ciuitates et oppida, sed etiam casalia  
repleuerant, qui dies et noctes et horas et singula temporum momenta  
in dampnationem suam uendentes, usuras et superhabundantias supra  
15 sortem absque misericordia repetebant, dicente domino: «Mutuum  
date, nichil inde sperantes.» Et iterum: «Captum a bestia non mandu-  
cabitis.» Sed et filios et filias et omnes hos ad quos funebris et uenenosa  
illa pecunia detinebatur, secum per ignem trahiciebant, ut impleretur  
quod scriptum est: «Immolauerunt filios suos et filias suas demoniis.»  
20 Sed et pignora, sorte in integrum recepta, predicti perditionis filii  
contra mandatum domini reddere recusabant. Ait enim in Leuitico:  
«Si frater tuus pretium ad redimendum potuerit inuenire, computa-  
buntur fructus ex eo tempore quo uendidit, et quod reliquum est  
reddet emptori, atque recipiet possessionem suam.» Emptorem autem  
25 appellat, qui mutuo pecuniam concedens fructus et non possessionem

---

10 nesciens ] faciens *CGTW* | eos semper *A* | eos ] eius *Mo* || 11 fetidissimum  
*A* || 13 et<sup>1</sup> *om. A Mo* | et<sup>2</sup> *om. CD* | temporum ] ipsorum *Mo* || 15 reputabant  
*CD* || 16 dare *C* || 17 ad quos ] a quibus *CDGTWKOP* | funebris ] fenerabis  
*CGTW*, fenebris *Mo*<sup>2</sup> || 20 in ] et *C* | accepta *CD* | filii perditionis *A* || 22 redi-  
mendum *add. non ABHLQS* || 23 quo ] quod *A*

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14 cfr Ez 22, 12 || 15-16 Lc 6, 35 || 16-17 cfr Lev 22, 8 || 19 Ps 105, 37 ||  
22-24 cfr Lev 25, 25-27



emit. Alii autem merces suas, eo quod tempus solutionis differretur, pretio maiori uendentes, uel anticipato solutionis tempore merces in futuro recipiendas uilius ementes, eterne mortis et dampnationis suppliciiis sese nichilominus obligabant.

## CAPITULUM III

DE RAPINIS ET EXACTIONIBUS POTENTUM  
PER SE ET PER SATELLITES SUOS  
ET DE UARIIS EORUM CRIMINIBUS

Cum autem dicat dominus, beatius magis esse dare quam accipere, illius temporis homines et hii maxime qui regiminis potestatem super 10 alios acceperant, non solum muneribus illicitis auaras manus implebant, uel collectis et exactionibus indebitis a subiectis pecuniam in dampnationem suam extorquebant, sed per predas et rapinas uiolentas passim nunc occulte nunc publice incautos uel impotentes homines crudeliter opprimebant, non attendentes satis quod scriptum est: 15 «Ve qui predaris, quoniam predaberis.» De quibus ait dominus per prophetam: «Qui comederunt carnem populi mei et pellem eorum desuper excoriauerunt et ossa eorum confregerunt, clamabunt ad dominum, et non exaudiet eos et abscondet faciem suam ab eis.» Miseri autem nouissima sua non considerant, quemadmodum dicit 20 Iheremias: «Sordes eius in pedibus eius, quia non est recordata finis eius.» «Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia, potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur», et maioribus maior instat cruciatus. Ipsi autem non solum predas exercentes, sed incendiis regiones uastantes, mona-

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4 se *A* | nihilominus sese *Mo* || 9 dominus dicat *A* | esse magis *A* | esse ] est *OQS Vulg., om. JRN Mo* || 15 satis attendentes *CD* | satis *om. A* || 16 quoniam ] nonne et ipse *AQS Mo Vulg., quia H* || 22 eius ] sui *A Mo* || 23 cruciatio *AQS Vulg., cruciatis C* || 24 sed *add. et ACD Mo*

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9 cfr Act 20, 35 || 16 Is 33, 1 || 17-19 Mich 3, 3 || 20 cfr Eccli 7, 40, Jer 12, 4 || 21-22 cfr Thren 1, 9 || 22-23 Sap 6, 7 || 23 cfr Sap 6, 9

steriorum et ecclesiarum prediis et possessionibus non parcebant, manu sacrilega sanctuaria effringentes, et ministeriis dedicata spiritualibus de gremio et sinu domini uiolenter efferentes. Pauperum insuper bona, dum casibus leuibus inuicem inter se contenderent, 5 impiis satellitibus suis exponebant. Vias quoque publicas accincti ferro, non parcentes peregrinis seu uiris religiosis, obsidebant. In oppidis etiam et urbibus sicarii et scelerati homines uicos et plateas et abdita locorum innocentium sanguine latentes in insidiis passim replebant. Sed et in ipso mari, diuinum iudicium non timentes, et 10 cursarii et pirate, mercatores et peregrinos non solum spoliabant sed plerumque nauibus eorum combustis in profundum demergebant.

Principes autem et potentes infideles, socii furum, qui pacem procurare et subiectos defendere, et homines pestilentes tamquam 15 lupos ab ouibus, a subditis formidine pene arcere tenebantur, acceptis muneribus ab impiis et prophanis hominibus cupiditate lucri temporalis, eis patrocinium et fauorem prestabant. Si uidebant furem, currebant cum eo; ac si dicerent: «Sortem mitte nobiscum, marsupium unum sit omnium nostrum.» Et ideo fures, raptores, sacrilegos, feneratoros, iudeos, sicarios et homicidas, et seditiosos homines, quos 20 grauiter punire et penitus exstirpare et de medio tollere debuerunt, ipsi sine causa gladium portantes sustinebant, et impune maleficia perpetrare sinebant, cum tamen dicat dominus per prophetam: «Querite iudicium, subuenite oppresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite uiduam.»

25 Ipsi autem canes immundi nescientes saturitatem, per coruos infernales cadaueribus inhiantes, per prepositos et satellites suos pauperes opprimebant, uiduas et pupillos spoliabant, insidiantes et calumpniam inferentes et plura crimina imponentes ut pecuniam

---

2 misteriis *A* || 2-3 spiritualibus dedicata *A* || 4 causis *ACD*, casis *O* | inter se contenderent inuicem *A* || 5 suis *om.* *C* || 6 parcebant *A* | religiosis uiris *Mo* || 8 innocentum *ACD* || 9-10 et cursarii et pirate *Mo*, *edit.*, a cursariis et piratis *ABCD et cet. codd.* || 13 procreare *A* | subditos *A* || 18 unum *om.* *D* | sacrilegi *A* | sacrilegi raptores *A* || 19 sicarii *A* | et<sup>1</sup> *om.* *A* | homicide *A* | seditiosos] sediosos *B* || 25 immundi *add.* non ualentes latrare *AQS* || 26 per *om.* *CDGTW* | prepositos] per persitos *D* || 27 uiduas ... spoliabant *om.* *C* || 28 plura] falsa *CD*

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12 cfr Is 1, 23 || 16-17 cfr Ps 49, 8 || 17-18 Prov 1, 14 || 21 cfr Rom 13, 4 || 23-24 Is 1, 17 || 25 cfr Is 56, 11

extorquerent. Et plerumque ad carceres et uincula trahebantur  
 insontes, et cruciabantur innocentes, nulla alia causa, nisi quod  
 aliquid habere credebantur, et maxime cum eorum domini prodiga-  
 litati uacantes et luxui, pro torneamentis et pomposa seculi uanitate,  
 expensis superfluis et debitis astringebantur et usuris. Sed et mimi 5  
 et ioculatores, scurre, uagi et hystiones, canes aulici et adulatores,  
 spoliatorum patrimonia consumeabant. Ac si dicerent principi suo seu  
 tyranno: «Exinnanite, exinnanite usque ad fundamentum.» «Crucifige,  
 crucifige», macta et manduca.

Ipsi autem principes meretrices et lupanaria, aleatores, caupones, 10  
 et prophanas tabernas que sunt uelut fouee latronum et synagoge  
 iudeorum, iniustas mensuras et stateras dolosas, et alias huiusmodi  
 pestes, que uniuersas occupabant ciuitates et regiones eorum, quas  
 euellere, destruere, disperdere, et dissipare debuerunt, ad cumulum  
 dampnationis sue passim crescere permittebant. Non solum enim qui 15  
 talia agunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt, regnum dei non possidebunt.

## CAPITULUM IIII

DE UARIIS HOMINUM GENERIBUS  
ET UARIIS CRIMINIBUS IRRETITIS

Non solum autem hii, sed omne genus hominum uias suas corruperat 20  
 super terram. Anteriorum enim obliti in posteriora se superextendebant.  
 Negotiatores mendaciis et deceptionibus infinitis fratres suos circum-  
 uenire studebant. Agricole de bonis suis decimas ecclesiis non redde-  
 bant. Serui et ancille absque diuino timore ad oculum tantum dominis  
 suis seruiebant. 25

1 trahebant *CD* || 2 cruciabant *C* || 3 credebant *CD*, uidebantur *A* | domini ]  
 donum *C* || 6 uagii *CD* | aulici canes *A* | adulatores *A* || 8 fundamentum  
*add.* in ea *A* || 10 et *om.* *Mo* || 12 stateras *add.* et *Mo* || 14 debuerant *Mo* ||  
 16 etiam ] et *C* || 19 criminibus *ACD Mo*, ciuitatibus *B* || 21 extendebant *A*,  
 semper extendebant *C* || 22 disceptionibus *C* || 24 diuino *om.* *Mo* || 24–25 seruie-  
 bant dominis suis *CD*

8 Ps 136, 7 || 8–9 Lc 23, 21 || 9 cfr Act 10, 13 || 15–16 cfr Gal 5, 21, Rom 1, 32 ||  
 20–21 cfr Gen 6, 12 || 24–25 cfr Eph 6, 5–6

Medici modis omnibus egros suos decipere non timebant, labiis  
 dolosis et lingua magniloqua multa promittentes et modicum per-  
 soluentes, multa recipientes parum autem proficientes. Plerumque  
 autem hiis quos sanare debuerant, uitam auferabant per fallaciam  
 5 et sophisticationem pecuniam emungentes. Non solum autem corpo-  
 ribus non prosunt, sed animas interimunt, dum enim expletione  
 libidinis corpora purgari asserunt, multos in fornicationem inducunt.  
 Sed et grauiter egrotantibus, quibus dicere debuerant: «Dispone domui  
 tue, quia morieris et non uiues», confessiones et alias medicinas  
 10 spirituales differre seu paruipendere faciunt, dum eos securos menda-  
 citer et fallaciter reddunt.

Aduocati autem iniusti, pretii et immensi salarii cupiditate cecati,  
 non solum causas iniustas fouebant, sed etiam desperatas, in mendaciis  
 et uerbositate confisi, suscipiebant. De quibus beatus Iob ait: «Ignis  
 15 deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui libenter munera accipiunt.» Ipsi  
 autem turpis lucri gratia de ciuitate in ciuitatem, de domo in domum,  
 de consistorio in consistorium discurrentes, per totam Egypti terram,  
 ut paleas colligerent, dispergebantur. Causas protrahebant, lites multi-  
 plicare gaudentes, innumeras exceptiones opposcentes, ut bursas fre-  
 20 quentius emungerent. Cum autem causam susceptam per quamcumque  
 fallaciam ad finem optatum perducere non ualerent, statim in appella-  
 tionem prorumpabant, ut causa renouata, renouaretur salarium.

Mulieres non solum in ornatu meretricio et superfluitate uestium,  
 in tortis crinibus, in auro et margaritis et ueste pretiosa, in plausu  
 25 illicito et choreis, sed insuper sortilegiis et innumeris maleficiis,  
 incautos homines ad mortem et precipitium secum trahebant. Fodi-

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1 suos *om.* *A Mo* || 3 autem ] uero *AQS* | parum autem proficientes *om.* *Mo* ||  
 5 pecunias *CD* | emungentes pecuniam *A* || 6 sed *add.* etiam *A*, *add.* et *Mo* ||  
 7 propagari *Mo* || 8 disponere *C* || 12 salarii *add.* et *A* || 13 in mendaciis des-  
 peratas *CD* || 14 uerbositate *add.* sua *CD* | confusi *CD* || 15 tabernacula eorum]  
 eos *JNR Mo* || 19–20 frequenter *CD* || 20–21 per quamcumque fallaciam sus-  
 ceptam *Mo* || 23 solum *add.* est *D* | in *om.* *D* || 25 sed *add.* et *C*

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1–2 cfr Ps 11, 4 || 8–9 cfr Is 38, 1 || 14–15 Jb 15, 34 || 17–18 cfr Ex 5, 12 || 23–  
 24 cfr 1 Tim 2, 9 || 26–p. 83, 1 cfr Jer 2, 13

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1–11 A quite similar passage on medical doctors is found in one of Jacques  
 de Vitry's sermons (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 17509, fol. 32).  
 The passage is found in Lecoy, *Anecdotes*, p. 350.

entes enim et non operientes cisternam, bestialibus et brutis facte sunt in ruinam; quibus, secundum prophete Ysaie uaticinium, erit pro suaui odore fetor, pro zona funiculus, pro crispanti crine caluitium.

Hii autem qui, regulari habitu assumpto, seculo renunciauerant et se uoto religioni astrinxerant, speciem pietatis exterius habentes 5 uirtutem autem eius abnegantes, quanto gradus eorum eminentior tanto casu miserabili post uotum grauius corruerunt. Inobedientes, murmurantes, inuicem detrahentes, Christi crucem in angaria baiulantes, immundi et incontinentes, secundum carnem et non secundum spiritum ambulantes, et hii quidem, posita manu ad aratrum cum 10 uxore Loth retro aspicientes ad allia Egypti et pepones et ollas carniū, dum manna deserti fastidiebant, in sepulchris concupiscentie mortui et sepulti perierunt, «quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt». Plurimi autem ex hiis, questum pietatem estimantes, inter sanctum et prophanum non habebant distantiam, sed «morticinum et captum 15 a bestia» passim a feneratoribus et raptoribus recipiebant, nichil interrogantes propter auaritiam, cum tamen uir sanctus Tobyas ab uxore quesierit: «Vide ne furtiuus sit.» Illi autem, qui non per ostium sed sub terra fodientes, per pecunie foramen ingressi sunt, iam iudicati sunt a domino dicente: «Omnis plantatio quam non plantauit pater 20 meus eradicabitur», sicut et hii qui non solum uoluntatis proprietatem sed pecunie proprium cum Anania et Saphira retinere non uerentur.

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1 cisternam *add.* in C || 5 religionis AC || 7 miserabili DHLJRNKGP Mo, miserabiliter B, mirabili CTWO, grauior AQS | grauius] miserabiliter A || 8 murmuratores A | detrahentes inuicem A || 10 quidem *om.* A || 12 concupiscentie *add.* et C || 13 quia ... fecerunt *om.* C || 14 estimantes] putantes A | sanctam AC || 15 habentes A || 19 fodientes *om.* Mo || 21 meus *add.* celestis A *Vulg.* || 22 uerentur ACD Mo, uererentur B

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2-3 cfr Is 3, 24 || 5-6 cfr 2 Tim 3, 5 || 8-9 cfr Mt 27, 32 || 9-10 cfr Rom 8, 4 || 10-11 cfr Lc 9, 62, Gen 19, 26 || 11-12 cfr Num 11, 5 || 13 1 Tim 5, 12 || 14-15 cfr Ez 22, 26 || 15-16 Ez 44, 31 || 18 cfr Tb 2, 21 | cfr Jo 10, 1 || 20-21 cfr Mt 15, 12

## CAPITULUM V

### DE NEGLIGENTIA ET PECCATIS PRELATORUM

Horum autem omnium malorum causa extiterat dissolutio et defectus et ignorantia prelatorum, quia, non solum dormientibus pastoribus  
5 sed collaborantibus, inimicus homo in medio tritici superseminauit zizania. Frumentum degenerauit in lolium, et in spinas et tribulos terra maledictionis exuberabat, dum agrum pigri hominis et uineam uiri stulti repleuerant urtice, et operuerant superficiem eius spine. Dum enim pastorum improba sollicitudo in luporum rabiem uerteretur,  
10 in fetorem caprarum ouium simplicitas pertransiit. Venditores enim Ioseph innoxii, imitatores Symonis magi et socii Iude proditoris, oues quas in Sychimis, id est, in studio laboris et discipline, pascere debu-  
erunt, adduxerunt in Dothaym, id est, in defectum totius boni. Duri enim exactores, dum nil gratis accipiebant, nichil gratis conferebant,  
15 uendentes Ioseph ysmahelitis et sanguinem ueri Abel in terram fundentes. Dum enim infinite eorum cupiditati supercecidit ignis, nec ipsi solem iustitie uidebant, nec eius radios per tumidam potestatis eminentiam superpositi et interpositi ad subditos peruenire sinebant. Ipsi uero non pastores sed dissipatores, non prelati sed pilati. Non  
20 solum uiso lupo ueniente fugiebant, sed cum ipsis lupis plerumque in detrimentum ouium pacem habebant. «Muti canes» et lupos ab ouili sibi commisso non arcentes, ne forte obiceretur eis in faciem: «Medice

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2 et peccatis *om.* *CD* || 4 ignominia *C* || 5 collaudantibus *C* || 8 super faciem *C* ||  
9 prelatorum *C* | uertetur *C* || 10 pertransit *C* || 15 uiri *C* || 16 cupiditatis *CD* ||  
17 timidam *C* || 18 suppositi *CD* || 20 lupis *om.* *C* || 22 eis] sibi *A*, *om.* *O* |  
sibi obiceretur in faciem *AQS* | in faciem obiceretur eis *JRNGTWKOP*

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4 cfr Nahum 3, 18 || 5-6 cfr Mt 13, 25 || 6-7 cfr Gen 3, 18 || 7-8 cfr Prov 24, 30-31 || 11-12 cfr Gen 37, 13 || 14 cfr Mt 10, 8 || 16-17 cfr Ps 57, 9 || 20 cfr Jo 10, 12 || 21 Is 56, 10 || 22-p. 85, 1 Lc 4, 23

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19 *non pastores ... pilati* is also found in Jacques de Vitry's *Sermo ad prelatos*. Pitra, p. 354.

cura teipsum.» Qui predicas non furandum, furaris; non mechandum, mecharis. Eice primum trabem de oculo tuo, ut possis uidere festucam in oculo fratris tui. Et propter hoc sponsa Christi ab illis prostituta est ad mechandum, quibus fuerat commissa ad custodiendum.

Vix autem in diebus illis inueniebatur qui Christi uices doleret, licet 5 ministros haberet infinitos, qui se murum opponeret pro domo domini, quem comederet zelus domus dei, qui caperet uulpeculas demolientes uineam domini. Filium enim dei rursus crucifigentes et ostentui habentes, membra eius non solum per rapacitatem auaritie substantiis nudabant, sed per exemplum nequitie uirtutibus spoliabant. Nocte 10 in lupanari, mane in altari; filiam ueneris nocte tangentes, filium uirginis mane contrectantes. Filium dei concubabant, et sanguinem testamenti pollutum ducebant. Teste enim beato Iheronimo: «Corpus et sanguinem Christi, quantum in se est, polluit qui pollutus ad altare accedit.» Ed idcirco ferculum manibus leprosis oblatum respuebatur 15 a domino, quemadmodum dicit dominus per Ysaïam: «Cum multiplicaueritis orationes non exaudiam, manus enim uestre plene sunt sanguine.» Sic igitur ceci duces cecorum effecti, simul in foueam cadebant. Ipsi autem sacerdotes tanto profundius mergebantur, quanto in sanctitatis operibus et preeminencia uite subditos excedere tene- 20 bantur.

Sic igitur totus pene mundus miserabiliter declinans ad occasum, passibus continuis descendebat in profundum. Dum ei superbia auferebat deum, inuidia proximum, ira seipsum, quem superbia reddebat tumidum, inuidia liuidum, ira turbidum, accidia pigrum, cupiditas 25

1 non<sup>2</sup>] nec D || 3 hos Mo || 4 commissa fuerat ACD Mo || 5 deleteret D, impleter CGTW, gereret K || 7 comedet C || 11 tangebant A | tangentes add. et A || 12 uirginis add. Marie D Mo | mane om. D | contractantes CD | concubabant ] conclamantes CDGTW || 14 est om. DS || 15 leprosis add. manibus C || 16 Ysaïam add. prophetam Mo || 17-18 sanguine plene sunt A || 19 mergebant D || 20 preeminentiam D || 23 dum CDHLJRNGTWKOP Mo, om. ABQS | ei om. CDGTW || 25-p. 86, 1 cecum cupiditas CD

1-2 cfr Rom 2, 21-22 || 2-3 cfr Mt 7, 5 || 6 cfr Ez 13, 5 || 7 cfr Ps 68, 10, Jo 2, 17 || 7-8 cfr Cant 2, 15 || 8-9 cfr Hebr 6, 6 || 12-13 cfr Hebr 10, 29 || 16-18 cfr Is 1, 15 || 18-19 cfr Mat 15, 4, Lc 6, 39

1-2 *Qui predicas ... mecharis*, Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad prelatos*. Pitra, p. 354. || 10-12 *Nocte... contrectantes*, Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad prelatos*. See Funk, p. 146, note 1. || 13-15 The citation has not been identified.

cecum, ambitio inquietum, canem uentris ingluuies, immunditia libidinis porcum. Cordibus enim impiorum hominum per superbiam inflatis, per iram inflammatis, arescentibus per inuidiam, contritis et quasi in puluerem redactis, per tristitiam et accidiam dispergebantur, 5 per auaritiam inficiebantur et quasi humectabantur per gulam, et sic tandem per luxuriam conculcati redigebantur in lutum. Vt uere dicere posset miser homo: «Infixus sum in limo profundi et non est substantia.» Nec obstinatos homines et ad malum pronos domini flagella reuocabant, immittente domino pestilentias et fames, et 10 frustra percutiente filios contumaces, quia disciplinam non receperunt.

Sed et bella et seditiones uniuersum pene mundum concutiebant, gente contra gentem, et regno aduersus regnum consurgente. Sancta romana ecclesia scismatibus periculose turbabatur. Romanum imperium in se diuisum desolabatur, francigene contra anglicos pugnabant, 15 sarraceni fideles in Hyspania supra modum opprimebant, regnum Sicilie dissensionibus et preliis uastabatur, occidentis regiones uniuerse uariis tribulationibus ultionis diuine iudicio affligebantur. Precipitauit dominus et non pepercit omnia speciosa Iacob; repleuit in populo suo humiliatum et humiliatam. Residuum eruce comedit locusta, et resi- 20 duum locuste deuorabat brucus, residuum autem bruci rubigo consumpsit. Ipsi tamen, cum occideret eos dominus, non querebant eum nec reuertebantur. Curauit dominus Babylonem et non est curata. Frustra sufflauit conflator, consumptum est plumbum, argentum reprobum uersum est in scoriam et non est purgatum.

⟨EXEMPLA AD CONDEMPNATIONEM PRELATORUM INDIGNORUM.⟩

25 In confusionem autem et ignominiam prelatorum et eorum qui populum instruere debuissent, per malignum spiritum in ernergumeno quodam, qui tunc erat in Alemannia, ueritatem euangelii dominus

1 uentre *D* || 3 per inuidiam arescentibus *Mo* || 4 quasi *om.* *A* || 5 inficiabantur *Mo* || 6 conculcata *ACD Mo* || 7 possit *CD Mo* | posset dicere *A* || 9 reuocabantur *A* || 13 periculosus *A* || 16 preliis et dissensionibus *A* || 18 et non ] nec *A* || 20 deuorabat ] comedit *A* || 21 nec *A* | requirebant *Mo* || 23 confluit *Mo Vulg.* | est *om.* *Mo* | argentum *om.* *CDGTW*

7-8 Ps 68,3 || 8 cfr Ex 32,22 || 10 cfr Jer 2,30 || 12 cfr Mt 24,7 || 17-18 cfr Thren 2,2 || 18-19 cfr Thren 2,5 || 19-21 cfr Jl 1,4 || 21-22 cfr Ps 77,34 || 22 cfr Jer 51,9 || 23 cfr Jer 6,29 || 23-24 cfr Is 1,22



predicabat, uel predicari permittebat. A quo cum quereretur quod esset eius nomen uel cuius auctoritate predicare et docere populum presumeret, respondebat: «Nomen meum est penna in inchausto. Veritatem enim a domino in contemptum canum mutorum non ualentium latrare coactus sum predicare, et quia non possum dicere nisi uerum et scribi 5 dignum, penna in inchausto est nomen meum.»

In obprobrium etiam eorum qui dignos fructus penitentie pro peccatis suis agere negligebant, uel formidabant, ibi trepidantes timore ubi non erat timor, dominus iuenculam quandam pauperculam in regno Francie, in dyocesi senonensi, in uillula que dicitur Cudo, 10 omnibus exemplum abstinentie proposuit. Postquam enim in infirmitate grauissima, quam diebus multis habuit, beata uirgo uisibiliter eam uisitauit, annis circiter quadraginta uixit non manducans neque bibens. Ad humectandam tamen palati et gutturis siccitatem, modicum piscis uel alterius rei quandoque sugebat, nullam tamen substantiam 15 in uentrem recipiebat. In noctibus autem sabbathi et dominicis diebus pax dei, que exuperat et sepelit omnem sensum, ipsam in spiritu raptam adeo quietam et immobilem reddebat, quod non erat ei uox neque sensus, nec etiam respirare uidebatur.

1 predicari *ACD Mo*, predicare *B* || 2 nomen eius *CD* | et] uel *CD* | docere uel predicare *CD* | docere *add.* malignum *CDGTW* || 7 etiam] enim *A* | eorum] ipsorum *A* || 8 suis *om. A* | ibi] illic *CD Mo Vulg.* | trepidabant *CD* || 9 timore *om. A* || 11 in *om. D* || 12–13 eam uisibiliter *A* || 13 eam *add.* liberauit et *AQS* || 14 ad humectandam tamen] adhumet caudam tum *C* | tamen] autem *A* | et] uel *A* || 15 uel] aut *A* || 16 uentrem *A*, uentre *BCD Mo* | diebus dominicis *CD Mo* || 17 et sepelit *om. Mo Vulg.* | sepelit et exuberat *A* || 18 non *om. C* || 19 etiam] et *C*

4 cfr Is 56, 10 || 7 cfr Mt 3, 8 || 8–9 cfr Ps 52, 6 || 17 cfr Phil 4, 7

10 Cudot, near Villeneuve-sur-Yonne. M. Quantin, Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Yonne, Paris, 1862, pp. 43–44. Cottineau, I, 929. GC, XII, 198. In the anecdote Jacques de Vitry is undoubtedly referring to Saint Alpais (Alpaix, Alpaide) of Cudot. For another account of the saint see Lecoy, Anecdotes, n° 19, pp. 26–28. Alpais, born about 1150 at Cudot, was seriously stricken with disease in her youth and was miraculously cured by the Virgin, though she remained bed-ridden. Her fame for holiness was widespread during her own life, and she became an object of pilgrimage. She subsisted on Holy Communion alone for a long period. She died November 3, 1211 and was beatified February 7, 1874. See Appendix C: Alpais of Cudot, p. 257.

Aliam preterea in confinio Francie et Normandie iuxta uillam quam Vernonem appellant uidimus puellulam in cellula quadam reclusam, que de pellibus asperimis herinaciorum sibi fecerat cilicium. Per multos autem annos nil prorsus manducauerat uel biberat. Nil per os  
 5 uel per alia nature instrumenta de corpore eius umquam exibat. Corpus tamen domini sexta feria ex ore columbe, dicentis sibi: «Accipe uitam eternam», recipiens, diebus dominicis de manibus sacerdotis ipsum iterum suscipiebat. Sic enim illi columba preceperat propter sacerdotii dignitatem et ecclesie institutionem et propter hominum  
 10 suspicionem, ne forte crederetur, illusa fantasmate, ut a ueri sacramenti susceptione priuaretur. Nisi autem singulis hebdomadis predictum sacramentum susciperet, debilitate et exinnanitione deficiens, subsistere non ualebat. Diebus autem sabbathi et nocte dominica, igne clarissimo in eius lampade celitus descendente, suauissimos angelorum  
 15 cantus non solum ipsa sed multi alii assistentes audiebant.

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2 Vernonam *A*, Vernonen *Mo* | puellam *D* | inclusam *A* || 4 uel] aut *A* ||  
 5 eius *om. C* | numquam *CD* | exierat *Mo* || 7 manu *ACD* || 8 illi *om. A* ||  
 10 fantasmate *om. CD* | fantasmate illusa *A* || 11 perceptione *CD Mo* || 13 sub-  
 sistere] uiuere *C, om. D* | ualeret *C*

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2 Vernon (Eure), village near Evreux. B. Blosseville, Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Eure, Paris, 1878, p. 229. M. Charpillon, Dictionnaire historique de toutes les communes du département de l'Eure, 2nd ed., Paris, 1966. E. Mayer, Histoire de la ville de Vernon et de son ancienne châtellenie, Les Andelys, 1875-77. T. Michel, Histoire de la ville et du canton de Vernon, Vernon, 1851.

## CAPITULUM VI

### DE UISITATIONE OCCIDENTALIS ECCLESIE. DE UITA ET PREDICATIONE FULCONIS PRESBYTERI

In diebus illis suscitauit deus celi spiritum cuiusdam sacerdotis 5  
ruralis, simplicis ualde et illitterati, de episcopatu parisiensi nomine  
Fulconis. Sicut enim piscatores et ydiotas elegit, ut gloriam suam  
alteri non daret, sic dominus, eo quod paruuli petiissent panem,  
litterati autem, circa disputationes uanitatis et pugnas uerborum  
intenti, frangere non curabant, predictum presbyterum tamquam 10  
stellam in medio nebule et pluuiam in tempore siccitatis, uelut alterum  
Sangar qui uomere rudis predicationis multos interficeret, ad uineam  
suam excolendam misericorditer elegit. Non continuit in ira miseri-  
cordias suas, misericordie recordatus est cum fuisset iratus, sciens quia  
homo caro est, spiritus uadens et non rediens. 15

Is igitur, predictus Fulco, tamquam animalis et non intelligens que  
dei sunt, seculariter ualde prius uixerat, et nimium dissolutus equo suo  
indomito frena latius laxauerat. Cum autem placuit ei qui ipsum de  
tenebris ad lucem reuocauit, ut ubi habundauerat iniquitas super-  
habundaret gratia, continuo non acquieuit carni et sanguini sed, 20  
mutatus in uirum alterum et spiritus feruore succensus, aggressus est

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2 *orientalis A* | *ecclesie add. et ACD Mo* || 6 *ualde om. A* || 11 *tempore*] *medio Mo* ||  
16 *is*] *hiis D, hic Mo* || 17 *prius ualde CD Mo* || 19 *uocauit A* | *iniquitas*] *delic-*  
*tum A* || 19-20 *superhabundaret ACD Mo, superhabundauit B* || 20 *continue*  
*A* | *non om. D* || 21 *mutatus add. est Mo* | *spiritu A*

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5-6 cfr Dan 13, 45 || 8-10 cfr Thren 4, 4 || 11 cfr Eccli 50, 6 | cfr Eccli 35, 26 ||  
12 cfr Jdc 3, 31 || 13-14 cfr Ps 76, 10 || 14-15 cfr Ps 77, 39 || 16-17 cfr 1 Cor  
2, 14 || 17-18 cfr Eccli 30, 8 || 18-19 cfr 1 Pet 2, 9 || 19-20 cfr Rom 5, 20 ||  
20 cfr Gal 1, 16 || 21 cfr 1 Rg 10, 6

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7 Fulco of Neuilly (fl. after 1191, d. 1202). The famous popular preacher, revival-  
alist, and preacher of the Fourth Crusade became pastor at Neuilly-sur-  
Marne (Seine-et-Oise) about 1195. See Appendix C: Fulco of Neuilly, p. 273.

uiam arduam, contendens intrare per angustam portam. Attendens enim quia regnum celorum uim patitur et uiolenti diripiunt illud, asperam penitentiam et uias duras est ingressus. Et quoniam multa perditionis exempla in subditos suos transmiserat, cepit eos non solum  
 5 exemplo uite sed frequenti ammonitione et exhortatione doctrine ad uiam ueritatis reuocare, cunctis ammirantibus quod de Saulo factus est Paulus, lupum in ouem, et coruum in columbam domino permu- tante.

Erubescens autem quod ydiota et illitteratus esset et diuinas  
 10 scripturas ignoraret, profectus est Parisius, ut in scholis theologorum aliquas auctoritates et moralia documenta in tabulis suis, quas secum portauerat, scribendo colligeret, uelut lapides limpidissimos ad proster- nendum Goliam.

## CAPITULUM VII

## DE STATU PARISIENSIS CIUITATIS

In diebus illis malis et nebulosis et tempore periculoso, parisiensis ciuitas, sicut et alie ciuitates, uariis inuoluta criminibus et sordibus innumeris deturpata, in tenebris ambulabat, que nunc, mutatione dextere excelsi qui desertum ponit in delicias et solitudinem in ortum  
 20 domini, facta est urbs fidelis et gloriosa, ciuitas regis magni, uelut paradisu uoluptatis et ortus deliciarum omnibus pomorum generibus refertus, in uniuerso mundo spirans suauitatem odoris, ex qua tamquam de thesauro suo summus paterfamilias profert noua et uetera. Ipsa

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1 intrare *om.* *D* | per angustam portam intrare *C* || 3 multa *om.* *CD* || 4 in] et *C* || 6 quia *C* || 15 ciuitatis] ecclesie *JR* || 16 pariensis *B* || 18 deturpata *om.* *CDGTW* | ambulat *D* | nunc *om.* *Mo* || 20 est *om.* *Mo*

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1 cfr Mt 7, 13 || 2 cfr Mt 11, 12 || 12 cfr 1 Rg 17, 40 || 18-19 cfr Ps 76, 11 || 19-20 cfr Is 51, 3 || 21 cfr Gen 2, 8 || 22 cfr Eccli 24, 20 || 23 cfr Mt 13, 52

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15 ff. Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad scholares*. See Funk, p. 151; Pitra, pp. 365-72.

enim uelut fons ortorum et puteus aquarum uiuentium irrigat uniuerse terre superficiem, panem delicatum et delicias prebens regibus, et uniuerse dei ecclesie super mel et fauum ubera dulciora propinans.

Tunc autem amplius in clero quam in alio populo dissoluta, tamquam capra scabiosa et ouis morbida, pernicioso exemplo multos 5 hospites suos undique ad eam confluentes, corrumpebat, habitatores suos deuorans et secum in profundum demergens. Simplicem fornicationem nullum peccatum reputabant. Meretrices publice ubique per uicos et plateas ciuitatis passim ad lupanaria sua clericos transeuntes quasi per uiolentiam pertrahebant. Qui, si forte ingredi recusarent, 10 confestim eos sodomitas post ipsos conclamantes dicebant. Illud enim fedum et abhominabile uitium adeo ciuitatem, quasi lepra incurabilis et uenenum insanabile, occupauerat, quod honorificum reputabant, si quis publice teneret unam uel plures concubinas. In una autem et eadem domo scole erant superius, prostibula inferius. 15 In parte superiori magistri legebant; in inferiori meretrices officia turpitudinis exercebant. Ex una parte meretrices inter se et cum lenonibus litigabant; ex alia parte disputantes et contentiose agentes clerici proclamabant.

Quanto autem magis superflui et in expensis prodigi sua turpius 20 expendebant, tanto commendabantur amplius, et fere ab omnibus probi et liberales dicebantur. Si qui autem secundum apostolicum mandatum sobrie et iuste et pie inter illos uiuere uoluissent, auari et miseri, ypocrite, superstitiosi, confestim ab impudicis et mollibus iudicabantur. 25

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1 uniuersam *CD* || 4 alio *om. C* || 6 affluentes *Mo* | corrumpebat *ACD*, corrumpebant *B* || 10 detrahebant *CD* | quod *Mo* || 11 eos ] ipsos *CD* | ipsos ] eos *CD* | clamantes *ACD* || 12 enim ] etiam *C* || 13 insaciabile *AQ* || 17 exercebant ] adimplebant *C* | et *om. C* || 22 quis *D* || 23 inter illos *om. A* | uoluisset *A* || 24 et<sup>1</sup> *om. C* | ypocrite *add. et CD*

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1 cfr Cant 4, 15 || 1-2 cfr Gen 2, 6 || 2 cfr Gen 49, 20 || 3 cfr Ps 18, 11 || 6-7 cfr Num 13, 33 || 7 cfr Ps 68, 16 || 23 cfr Tit 2, 12

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14-19 For comments on the passage see H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, I, 672, note 64; Rashdall, III, 440-41.

Omnes enim fere parisienses scolares, aduene et hospites ad nil aliud uacabant, nisi aut discere aut audire aliquid noui: alii addiscentes tantum ut scirent, quod est curiositas; alii ut scirentur, quod est uanitas; alii ut lucrarentur, quod est cupiditas et symonie prauitas.

5 Pauci autem addiscebant ut edificarentur uel edificarent.

Non solum autem ratione diuersarum sectarum uel occasione disputationum sibi inuicem aduersantes contradicebant, sed pro diuersitate regionum mutuo dissidentes, inuidentes et detrahentes, multas contra se contumelias et obprobria impudenter proferebant, 10 anglicos potatores et caudatos affirmantes, francigenas superbos, molles et muliebriter compositos asserentes, teutonicos furibundos et in conuiuiis suis obscenos dicebant, normanos autem inanes et gloriosos, pictauos proditores et fortune amicos. Hos autem qui de Burgundia erant brutos et stultos reputabant. Britones autem leues 15 et uagos iudicantes, Arturi mortem frequenter eis obieiebant. Lombardos auaros, malitiosos et imbelles; romanos seditiosos, uiolentos et manus rodentes; siculos tyrannos et crudeles; brabantios uiros sanguinum, incendiarios, rutarios et raptore; flandrenses superfluos, prodigos, comessionibus deditos, et more butyri molles et remissos, 20 appellabant. Et propter huiusmodi conuitia, de uerbis frequenter ad uerbera procedebant.

Vt autem de logicis taceamus, circa quorum oculos cinifes Egypti uolitabant, id est, sophisticæ subtilitates, «ita ut non posset intelligi desertitudo lingue eorum, in qua», ut dicit Ysaïas, «nulla est sa- 25 pientia».

1 enim *om. C* || 2 nisi *add. ut ABQSHL* | aut<sup>1</sup> *add. aliquid dicere A* | discere *om. A* | aliquid audire *A* || 3 est<sup>1</sup>] *esset A* || 5 uel] *aut A* | uel edificarent *om. CD* || 8 discidentes *D* | et *om. CD* || 10 anglicos *add. astutos et CGTW* | et caudatos *om. CGTW* | affirmabant *A* || 10–11 molles superbos *CD* || 14 reputabat *Mo* | autem *om. A* || 14–15 uagos et leues *A* || 15 mortem *om. C* || 16 imbecilles *C* || 19 prodigos *add. et CD Mo* || 20 huius *AD* || 20–21 ad uerbera frequenter *A* || 22 Egypti cinifes *CD Mo* || 23 uolitabant *D* | ita *om. A*

22 cfr Ex 8, 16 || 23–25 cfr Is 33, 19

1–5 cfr Saint Bernard, Sermo 36. PL, CLXXXVI, 968. || 10 *anglicos ... caudatos*: see Lecoy, Chaire, p. 440. G. Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus: a Mediaeval Slander*, Reprinted for the Proceedings of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Edinburgh, 1896. || 15 Arthur I, Duke of Brittany, 1187–1203. See Appendix C: Arthur, Duke of Brittany, p. 259.

Theologie doctores, supra cathedram Moysi sedentes, scientia inflabat, quos caritas non edificabat. Docentes enim et non facientes, facti sunt uelut es sonans et cymbalum tinniens et uelut canale lapideum, quod siccum in se remanens, mittit aquas ad areas aromaticum. Non solum autem sibi inuidebant et scolares aliorum blanditiis 5 attrahebant, gloriam propriam querentes, de fructu autem animarum non curantes, sed illud apostolicum auribus non surdis attendentes: «Qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat», prebendas sibi multiplicabant et uenabantur dignitates, cum tamen ipsi non tam opus quam preeminentiam affectarent, appetentes primas saluta- 10 tiones in foro, primas cathedras in synagogis, et primos recubitus in conuiuuiis. Cum autem dicat Iacobus apostolus: «Nolite plures magistri fieri, fratres mei», tot magistri fieri festinabant, quod plerique eorum non nisi prece uel pretio scolares habere ualebant. Securius autem est audire quam docere, et melior est humilis auditor quam insufficiens 15 et presumptuosus doctor. Paucos tamen inter eos dominus sibi reliquerat uiros honestos et timoratos, qui in uia peccatorum non steterunt, et in cathedra pestilentie cum aliis non sederunt.

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1 super *ACD Vulg.* | sedentes super cathedram Moysi *A* || 3 et<sup>1</sup> ] aut *A* || 4 mittit *ACD*, mixtit *B* || 8 sibi ] autem *D* || 9 et *om. A* | uenabantur *ACD Mo*, uenerabantur *B* || 13 quot *C* || 14 prece uel *marg. D* | ualerent *CD* | autem *om. A* || 15 insustinens *CD* || 16–17 reliquerat sibi *CD* || 18 cum aliis *om. A*

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1 cfr Mt 23, 2 || 1–2 cfr 1 Cor 8, 1 || 3 cfr 1 Cor 13, 1 || 8 cfr 1 Tim 3, 1 || 10–12 cfr Mt 23, 6 || 12–13 Jac 3, 1 || 17 Act 8, 2 || 17–18 cfr Ps 1, 1

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16 A new paragraph might well begin with the word *paucos*, and the material from chapter eight, p. 94, 3–12, concerning Peter Cantor could be better placed after it as the concluding section of the seventh chapter. For proposals about chapter reorganization see pp. 63–64.

## CAPITULUM VIII

### DE MAGISTRO PETRO CANTORE PARISIENSI

Quorum unus, uelut «lilium inter spinas» et rosa inter urticas, quasi angelus Pergami ubi est sedes sathane, quasi thus redolens in diebus  
 5 estus, quasi uas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso, quasi oliua pullulans et cypressus in altitudinem se tollens, quasi celestis tuba et domini cytharista, erat tunc temporis magister Petrus, uenerabilis cantor parisiensis, uir potens in opere et sermone, aurum suum et argentum simul conflans et uerbis suis stateram faciens, morum  
 10 honestate pondus et grauitatem conferens doctrine sue. Cepit enim facere et docere, uelut «lucerna ardens et lucens» et ciuitas supra montem posita et candelabrum aureum in domo domini.

〈DE PREDICATIONE FULCONIS〉

〈cap. viii〉

De cuius fonte limpidissimo predictus Fulco sacerdos potare desiderans, cum tabulis et stylo seu grafio scolae eius humiliter est ingressus,  
 15 quedam uerba moralia et uulgaria, quae secundum capacitatem ingenii recipere et colligere ex ore magistri sui potuit, frequenter ruminando et firmiter memorie commendando. Diebus autem festiuis ad ecclesiam suam rediens, quod per totam septimanam studiose collegerat ouibus

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6 extollens *A Vulg.* || 9 similiter *Mo* || 11 et<sup>3</sup> *add.* uelut *A* || 12 aureum *om. A* || 13 Fulco *om. CD* || 14 est humiliter *A* || 15 uulgaria et moralia *A*

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3 Cant 2, 2 || 4 cfr Ap 2, 12–13 || 4–5 cfr Eccli 50, 8 || 5 cfr Ap 21, 19 || 5–6 cfr Eccli 50, 11 || 8 cfr Lc 24, 19 || 8–9 cfr Eccli 28, 29 || 10–11 cfr Act 1, 1 || 11 Jo 5, 35 || 11–12 cfr Mt 5, 14 || 12 cfr Ex 25, 31

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7 Peter Cantor (d. 1197) was a student then lecturer at Rheims but about 1170 transferred to Notre Dame at Paris. Though twice elected bishop, he died as dean of the cathedral of Rheims. See Appendix C: Peter Cantor, p. 288. || 13 The eighth chapter might commence at this point, and a new title, *De predicatione et gestibus Fulconis*, better depict the contents of the present chapter than the traditional title. See pp. 63–64.



suis diligenter distribuebat. Et quoniam super pauca fuit fidelis, dominus eum super maiora constituit.

Primo siquidem a uicinis sacerdotibus uocatus et inuitatus, cum timore et uerecundia simplicibus laicis simpliciter et uulgariter ea que audierat predicare cepit, tamquam pastor «uellicans sicomoros». 5 Venerabilis et prudens magister eius, zelum et feruorem discipuli sui pauperis et illitterati sacerdotis attendens, et fidem illius et deuotionem caritatis uisceribus amplectens, ipsum in presentia sua coram multis et litteratis scolariis Parisius in ecclesia sancti Seuerini compulit predicare. Dominus autem nouo militi suo tantam dedit gratiam et 10 uirtutem, quod magister eius et alii qui audierunt, ammirantes, spiritum sanctum «in ipso et per ipsum» loqui testarentur, et exinde alii, tam doctores quam discipuli, ad eius rudem et simplicem predicationem concurrebant. Alter alterum inuitabat, et cortina cortinam trahebat, dicentes: «Venite et audite Fulconem presbyterum tamquam 15 alterum Paulum.» Ipse autem, confortatus in domino et indutus uirtute ex alto, uelut Samson cum maxilla asinina, cepit ad bestias Ephesi pugnare et uitiorum monstra fortiter amminiculante domino prosternere.

Cum igitur quadam die in ampla platea parisiensis ciuitatis que uulgariter Champel appellatur, congregata coram ipso tam cleri quam 20 populi multitudine copiosa, diuine predicationis semen in agro domini spargeret, aperuit os suum, et dominus adimpleuit illud, sicut scriptum est: «Anima que impinguat, impinguabitur, et qui inebriat, inebria-

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1 et] quia *C* || 2 eum *ACD Mo*, enim *B* || 3 uocatus *add.* est *AB* || 3-4 cum ... uerecundia *om. A* || 6 uenerabilis *add.* autem *CD Mo* || 7 deuotioni *D* || 9 Parisiis *Mo* || 10-11 et uirtutem *om. CD* || 11 qui *add.* eum *A* | audiebant *A* || 12 et<sup>2</sup> *om. A* || 13 discipuli] alii *A* || 18 amminiculatione *A* || 20 Champiaus *CGTW*, Campel *LJR* || 22 dominus] dicens *A* | impleuit *A* || 23 que] qui *D*

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1-2 cfr Mt 25, 21 || 5 Am 7, 14 || 11 cfr Mc 6, 2 || 12 Rom 11, 36 || 16-17 cfr Lc 24, 49 || 17-18 cfr 1 Cor 15, 32 || 22 cfr Ps 80, 11 || 23 cfr Prov 11, 25

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9 The church of Saint Severin on the Rue Saint Jacques near the Petit Châtelet had become the parish church of the Left Bank by the end of the eleventh century. See Gutsch, p. 186. || 14-15 *cortina cortinam trahebat*. If the passage is a citation, it has not been possible to find the source. See Huygens, Lettres, p. 75 for the same phrase in Letter I, 116. || 20 Les Champeaux or Place Champeaux, the medieval market of Paris, later called Les Halles. See Appendix C: Les Champeaux, p. 262.

bitur.» Aperuit ei dominus sensum, ut intelligeret scripturas, et uerbis eius tantam addidit gratiam, ut multi, puncti et compuncti ad penitentiam, exutis uestibus et pedibus discalciatis, uirgas seu corrigias in manibus portantes, ad pedes eius prosternerentur, peccata  
 5 sua coram omnibus confitentes et eius uoluntati et mandato se et sua penitus exponentes. Ille autem, domino gratias agens qui potens est de lapidibus suscitare filios Abrahe, omnes in osculo pacis recipiens, militibus ut neminem concuterent sed contenti essent stipendiis suis, feneratoribus et raptoribus ut pro posse suo omnia restituerent,  
 10 iniungebat. Publice etiam meretrices, capillos scindentes, consuetam turpitudinem abnegabant. Sed et alii peccatores, sathane et pompis eius cum lacrimis renunciantes, ab ipso ueniam postulabant. Non solum autem ignitum domini eloquium eos ad contritionem accendebat, sed quia multos infirmos, uariis languoribus oppressos, dominus per  
 15 ipsum restituebat sanitati, sicut asserunt, qui propriis oculis se protestati sunt uidisse.

<DE ACTIBUS ET OPERIBUS FULCONIS>

Fulco autem, gratiam dei non accipiens in uacuum sed talentum sibi commissum diligenter et studiose multiplicare festinans, famem patiebatur ut canis et circuibat ciuitatem. Quinimo per totum Francie  
 20 regnum et per magnam imperii partem «in impetu spiritus sui» discurrens, in spiritu uehementi naues Tharsis conterebat, instans opportune, importune, et quasi posteriorum oblitus, in anteriora se extendebat. Non prohibens gladium suum a sanguine sed ponens ipsum gladium super femur suum, uadens et rediens de porta ad portam per medium castro-

2 tamquam C || 2-3 ad penitentiam om. Mo || 4 eius om. C || 8 percuterent CD | contempti CD || 10 etiam] enim A | capillos add. suos A || 12 lacrimis add. eius D || 13 dei CD | ad contritionem eos A || 15 restituebat CD Mo, restituit BA | sanitati om. A || 17 autem] uero A || 23 gladium<sup>2</sup> add. suum D

6-7 cfr Mt 3,9, Lc 3,8 || 8 cfr Lc 3,14 || 13 cfr Ps 118,140 || 14-15 cfr Mt 4,23-24 || 17 cfr 2 Cor 6,1 || 17-18 cfr Mt 25,15 || 18-19 cfr Ps 58,7 || 20 Dan 14,35 || 21 cfr Ps 47,8 || 21-22 cfr 2 Tim 4,2 || 22 cfr Phil 3,13 || 22-23 cfr Jer 48,10 || 23-24 cfr Ex 32,27

11-12 cfr Rituale Romanum, Ordo baptismi.

rum absque personarum acceptione, «per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris» preliabatur domini prelia. Et tamquam canis uiuus leone mortuo melior, continuis latratibus lupos ab ouili domini arcere non cessabat, uerbo doctrine pascens indoctos, uerbo consolationis desolatos confortans, dubitantes uerbo consultationis, resistentes uerbo increpationis, 5 errantes uerbo correptionis, pigros uerbo exhortationis, incipientes uerbo ammonitionis instruens et informans. Et quoniam uehementer ardebat, adeo populos uniuersos paucis et simplicibus uerbis accendebat, non solum minores sed et reges et principes, quod nullus ei audebat uel poterat resistere. Confluebant autem et concurrebant a 10 remotis regionibus ut audirent ipsum et cernerent quae per ipsum dominus operabatur mirabilia.

In grabatis autem egrotantium ferebatur multitudo, et ponebantur in uiuis et plateis per quas ipse erat transiturus, ut ueniente ipso fimbrias uestimenti eius tangerent et sanarentur a languoribus suis. 15 Ipse uero illis quandoque tangebatur, aliquando uero, cum pre turba non posset accedere, eis benedicebat uel aquam de manu eius benedictam eis ad potandum propinabat. Tanta siquidem infirmorum et eorum qui eos afferebant erat fides et deuotio, quod, non solum serui Dei meritis sed feruore spiritus et fidei non hesitantis magnitudine, 20 plures sanari mererentur.

Felices autem se estimabant, qui de uestimentis eius particulam aliquam rumpere et sibi reseruare ualebant. Vnde dum ipsius uestimenta curtarentur et a populorum multitudine laniarentur, singulis fere diebus capam nouam ipsum oportebat habere. Et quoniam 25 intolerabiliter ipsum plerumque turbe comprimebant, baculo, quem gestabat in manu, homines importunos percutiendo fortiter a se remouebat, ne suffocaretur ab eis qui ipsum tangere cupiebant. Licet

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6 errantes uerbo correptionis *om. CDGTW* | insipientes *C* || 7 construens *Mo* | formans *A*, exhortans *C* || 9 ei *om. A* || 10 poterat *add. ei A* | concurrebant autem et confluebant *A* | concurrebant *add. ad eum A* || 12 operabatur dominus *A* || 14 erat ipse *CD Mo* || 16 quandoque illos *A Mo* | illos ] ipsos *CD* | tangebatur ipsos quandoque *CD* || 18 tantam *CD* || 20 hesitantis *CD Mo*, hesitantes *AB* || 22 estimant *D* || 23 ualerent *CD* || 24 curtarentur *ACD*, curarentur *B Mo* | a *om. C* | populorum *ACD Mo*, apostolorum *B* || 25 ipsum ] illum *A* | oportebat illum *A* || 26 turbe plerumque *A*

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1 cfr 2 Par 19, 7 || 1-2 2 Cor 6, 7 || 2 cfr 1 Rg 25, 28 || 2-3 cfr Eccle 9, 4 || 13-15 cfr Mc 6, 55-56, Act 5, 15 || 20 cfr Mt 21, 21

autem percussos aliquando uulneraret, ipsi non offendebantur uel murmurabant, sed pre nimia deuotione et fidei firmitate sanguinem suum quasi ab homine dei sanctificatum osculabantur. Dum autem die quadam capam eius quidam proterue nimis laceraret, ipse turbis  
 5 locutus est, dicens: «Nolite scindere uestes meas que non sunt benedictæ. Ego autem capam huius hominis benedicam.» Facto autem crucis signo, minutatim capam illius hominis lacerantes, pro reliquiis partes reseruabant.

Ipse autem malleus erat cupidorum, confundens non solum feneratores sed et illos qui per auaritiam multa congregabant, et maxime diebus illis, eo quod magna erat uictualium caristia. Ipse autem frequenter clamabat: «Pasce fame morientem; nisi pauperis, occidisti.» Cum autem die quadam in sermone suo diceret, quod homines maledicti qui frumenta abscondebant, pro modico pretio ante uenturam  
 15 messem ea uendituri essent, et quod cito temporis caristia finem esset habitura, omnes uerbis eius, ac si dominus locutus fuisset, fidem adhibentes, annonam quam absconderant confestim exposuerunt uenalem. Ex quo factum est quod secundum eius uerba, pro modico pretio ubique habebantur uictualia.

Ipse autem contra peccatores obstinatos et contra hos qui conuerti ad dominum differebant tanto zelo mouebatur uidens preuaricantes et tabescens, quod frequenter eos maledicebat uel maledicere simulabat. Omnes autem, tamquam tonitruum aut fulgur eius maledicta formidantes, eius acquiescebant imperiis, presertim cum ipsi quosdam  
 25 ab eo maledictos assererent a demonio arripi et alios ad similitudinem eorum qui morbum patiuntur caducum in terram subito corrui et spumare. Sed et asperitate penitentiae, eo quod asperrimo semper indutus esset cilicio et plerumque lorica, ut dicitur, et ex nimia uexatione fatigatus, frequenter commouebatur ad iram. Hos autem

1 aliquando percussos *A* | uel ] nil *A* || 3 dei *om.* *C* || 4 quadam die *A* | quidam ] a quodam *CD* | laceraretur *CD* || 5 scindere ] tangere *A* | meas *om.* *A* || 6 huius hominis capam *A* | hominis huius *CD* || 7 hominis *om.* *A* || 8 particulas *CD* *Mo* || 9 erat cupidorum *om.* *CD* || 11 esset *A* || 12 morientem fame *A* || 15 esset ] esse *Mo* || 16 fidem *om.* *A* || 17 adherentes *A* | abscondebant *CD* | confestim *om.* *A* || 21 preuaricatores *C* || 22 quia *A* | eos frequenter *A* || 23 aut ] et *A*, ut *Mo* || 24 quoddam *D* || 25 asserunt *CD* || 26 patiebantur *C* || 27 asperrimo ] asperi *A* || 28 esset ] sit *A*

qui eum comprimebant et illos qui sermones eius confabulando impediebant statim ut maledicebat, omnibus in terram corruentibus, subito magnum fiebat silentium.

Sacerdotes autem impudicos et eorum concubinas, quas iumentum diaboli appellabat, tantis increpationibus et maledictis persequabatur, 5 quod nimia confundebantur uerecundia, dum omnes illos qui huiusmodi erant digito demonstrantes, post ipsos conclamabant. Ex quo factum est quod omnes fere huiusmodi focarie sacerdotes suos relinquerent.

Quedam autem nobilis domina in uilla quam habebat frequenter 10 ammonuit presbyterum, ut suam relinqueret concubinam, quo renuente et respondente: «Quid ad uos de sacerdotibus?» Ipsa respondit: «Contra uos nullam possum exercere iustitiam, uerumtamen omnes huius uille qui non sunt clerici ad meam spectant iurisdictionem.» Iubens autem ad se sacerdotis adduci concubinam, fecit ei fieri 15 amplam coronam, dicens: «Quia non uis relinquere sacerdotem, uolo te ordinare in sacerdotissam.»

Alii autem sacerdoti precepit episcopus eius quatinus relinqueret focariam uel parochiam. Ille autem, flens et eiulans, dixit quod mallet 20 ecclesiam relinquere quam concubinam. Dimissa autem ecclesia, uidens meretrix sacerdotem suum pauperem effectum eo quod redditus non haberet, ipso contempto recessit, et ita miser ecclesiam pariter et concubinam amisit.

Omnes autem fere publice meretrices ad quemcumque locum athleta Christi ueniebat, relictis lupanaribus, ad ipsum confluebant, 25

1 eum *om.* *CD* | et *om.* *CD* || 2 in terram omnibus *C* || 5 maledictus et *A* || 6 confundebantur *AD Mo*, confundebatur *BC* || 7 digito *om.* *AQS* | demonstrans *K Mo* | clamarent *AQS*, conclamabat *HK Mo* | conclamabant *om.* *CDGTW* || 7-8 ex quo ... focarie *om.* *CDGTW* || 8 huiusmodi *om.* *AQS* | fornicarie *AQS* | sacerdotes ] dotes *CDGTW* || 10 domina ] mulier *CD Mo* || 13 omnes *om.* *C* || 14 expectant *C* || 15 concubinam adduci *A* || 17 in *om.* *C* | sacerdotillam *Mo* || 19 fornicariam *A* || 20 concubinam *add.* relinquere *D*, remittere *JR Mo*, dimittere *KOP* || 24 autem *om.* *A* || 25 dei *Mo* | uenisset *A*

2 cfr Jo 18,6

10-17 Gutsch attributes the action in this anecdote to Fulk. Gutsch, p. 191. || 18-23 Crane, *Exempla*, n° 241, p. 100. The anecdote was also told by Stephen of Bourbon. See Lecoy, *Anecdotes*, n° 471, p. 406.

quas ipse ex magna parte nuptui tradebat, alias autem in domibus religionis ut regulariter uiuerent includebat. Et propter hoc extra ciuitatem parisiensem, non longe ab ea, monasterium sancti Antonii cystericiensis ordinis, ut in eo reciperentur huiusmodi mulieres, ab initio fuit institutum.

Sed et in aliis locis et ciuitatibus ubi fontes uel puteos uir sanctus benedicebat, confluente languentium multitudine, edificabantur capelle hospitalia etiam construebantur.

Tantam autem uerbis eius dominus contulerat auctoritatem et gratiam, quod magistri parisienses et scolares, uersa uice tabulas et cedulas ad eius predicationem deferentes, uerba ex eius ore colligentes, scribebant, que tamen non ita sapiebant in alterius ore nec tantum fructificabant ab aliis predicata. In omnem autem christianorum terram exiuit sonus predicationis eius, et fama sanctitatis eius diuulgabatur ubique.

Sed et discipuli eius, quos ad predicandum mittebat uelut apostoli Christi, cum summo honore et reuerentia recipiebantur ab omnibus. Quidam autem ex eis, qui precipuus inter illos et amplius facundus et fecundus uidebatur, magister Petrus de Rusia dictus, maculam posuit in gloria sua. Ipse enim qui perfectionis iter arripuerat et paupertatem predicabat, occasione predicationis suffarcinatus est diuitiis et redditibus, et factus est ecclesie carnotensis canonicus et cancellarius, et qui ex fumo lucem perducere debuerat, ex luce fumum produxit. Et

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1 ex *om.* *Mo* | nuptiis *C*, nuptii *D* || 2 induebat *C* || 3 parisiensem *Mo* *edit.*, Parisius *ABCD* || 4 eo *A Mo*, ea *BCD* || 6 et<sup>1</sup> *om.* *D Mo* || 7 lugentium *C* || 7-8 capelle *add.* et *A* || 8 etiam *om.* *A* || 9 autem ] enim *C* | eius ] suis *A* | dominus uerbis suis *A* || 9-10 gratiam et auctoritatem *A* || 11 ore eius *ACD Mo* || 13 christianorum *om.* *A* || 14 eius<sup>1</sup> ] ipsius *CD Mo* || 17 recipiebant *D* | ab omnibus recipiebantur *A* || 18-19 et fecundus *om.* *CD* || 19 Roissia *C* || 20 et *om.* *A* || 22 ecclesie *om.* *A* || 23 fumo *C Mo*, fimo *ABD* | producere *ACD Mo* | fumum *C Mo*, fimum *ABD*

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13-14 cfr Ps 18, 5 || 16 cfr Lc 10, 1 || 19-20 cfr Eccli 47, 22

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3 Saint-Antoine-des-Champs was founded in 1198 and in 1208 adopted the Cistercian Rule. It was suppressed in 1791, but today the Hôpital Saint-Antoine occupies the site. See Appendix C: Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, Paris, p. 290. || 19 Pierre de Roissy became chancellor of Chartres certainly before 1208. See Appendix C: Pierre de Roissy, p. 289.

ob hoc non solum doctrinam suam contemptibilem reddidit, sed et aliis predicti Fulconis discipulis multum derogatum est in hoc facto.

Vir autem sanctus, cum multas animas diebus singulis domino lucraretur, tandem signo crucis humeris suis affixo, cepit exemplo et uerbo principes et milites et cuiuscumque conditionis homines ad 5 terre sancte succursum inuitare, exhortari et ammonere. Sed et ipse ex fidelium elemosinis maximam cepit congregare pecuniam, quam pauperibus cruce signatis tam militibus quam aliis proposuerat erogare. Licet autem causa cupiditatis uel aliqua sinistra intentione collectas istas non faceret, occulto tamen dei iudicio ex tunc eius 10 auctoritas et predicatio cepit ualde diminui apud homines et, crescente pecunia, timor et reuerentia decrescebat.

Ipse autem non multo tempore post, acuta febre correptus, in uilla que dicitur Neuli uiam uniuerse carnis ingressus est et ibidem in ecclesia parochiali cui prefuit sepultus est. Multis autem ex longinquis 15 et propinquis regionibus ad sepulchrum eius concurrentibus, opus ecclesie illius quod ipse inchoauerat ex elemosinis confluentium peregrinorum penitus est consummatum. Cum enim in principio conuersionis sue contra omnium laicorum uoluntatem, antequam dirueret ecclesiam, promisit parochianis suis quod ipse absque grauamine 20 eorum totum opus, licet ualde sumptuosum esset, consummaret.

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1 sed ] scilicet *A* || 4 crucis signo *CD Mo* || 5 et<sup>1</sup> *om. A* | et<sup>2</sup> *om. Mo* || 7 cepit ] temptabat *CGTW* || 10 tamen *om. Mo* || 11 diminui ualde *A* || 11-12 et crescente pecunia *om. CD* || 12 decrescebant *A* || 14 Noisi *C*, Neuilli *Mo* || 15 prefuerat *C* || 15-16 propinquis et longinquis *A* || 17 illius ] illud *Mo*

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14 cfr Jos 23, 14

## CAPITULUM IX

### DE MAGISTRO IOHANNE DE NIUELLA ET ALIIS PREDICATORIBUS

Defuncto igitur predicto Christi athleta qui latratibus sanctis mundum  
5 euigilare ceperat et ueritatis lumine ex parte nebulosas illuminauerat  
regiones, multi, zelo caritatis accensi et eius exemplo incitati, ceperunt  
predicare et docere, multos erudientes ad iustitiam, et de faucibus  
leuiathan sanctis exhortationibus peccatorum animas extrahentes.  
Inter quos principales et maioris nominis fuerunt, quasi stelle in  
10 firmamento celi: uenerabilis pater magister Stephanus cantuariensis  
archiepiscopus; et magister Galterus de Londonia; et magister Rober-  
tus de Chorcon, qui postea factus est cardinalis; <Adam>, abbas de

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3 aliis *add.* ueris *ACD Mo* || 4 mundum *add.* quasi *CD Mo* || 5 lumine *CD Mo*,  
lumen *AB* | illustrauerat *C* || 10 pater *om. CD* | magister *om. A* || 12 Chorcon  
*AD Mo*, Corcon *C* | Adam *edit., om. omnes codd., Mo*

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9–10 cfr Gen 1, 17

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2 *Ms. K* gives a better title for this chapter: *De hiis qui post ipsum Fulconem ceperunt predicare*. John of Nivelles is not the most distinguished of the several personages listed in the chapter and is placed at the end of the tally. He was possibly given preference by the author of the chapter titles simply because of his close connections with Jacques de Vitry. A follower of Fulk not mentioned here was Abbot Eustace de Flay of Kent, cited by Matthew Paris and Roger of Hoveden. See Alphandéry, p. 54, and Bulaeus, II, 509, III, 6–8. || 10 Stephen Langton (cir. 1150–1228). English theologian, preacher, lecturer at Paris, archbishop of Canterbury. See Appendix C: Stephen Langton, p. 295. || 11 For the identity of Walter of London, see Appendix C: Walter of London, p. 298. || 11–12 Robert Courçon (cir. 1155/60–1219). English theologian, student and lecturer at Paris, crusade preacher, and cardinal. See Appendix C: Robert Courçon, p. 290. || 12 Adam of Perseigne (cir. 1145–1221). Neither the manuscript tradition nor the Moschus edition give the name “Adam”. Without the addition of the name the phrase *abbas de Persinia cisterciensis ordinis* could be taken in apposition with Alberic of Laon, but this cannot be admitted historically. The data of Adam’s life clearly show connections with Fulk of Neuilly. See Appendix C: Adam of Perseigne and the Abbey of Perseigne, p. 254.



Persinia cysteriensis ordinis; magister Albericus de Lauduno, qui postea factus est archiepiscopus remensis, de fluuio commutatus in riuulum; magister Iohannes de Lirot et socius eius, magister Iohannes de Niuella, uir humilis et timoratus, et omnium uirtutum margaritis ornatus, cum pluribus aliis quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro uite, 5 qui, in agro domini fideliter et prudenter laborantes, de cauernis petrarum et montibus bestias uenabantur, de lacu fecis et miserie retibus et sagenis pisces extrahentes.

## CAPITULUM X

## DE PSEUDO SIUE FALSIS PREDICATORIBUS

Cum igitur hostis antiquus, aduersarius noster, qui atria sua tamquam fortis armatus in pace diu custodierat, uasa sua si potenter auferri uideret, torquebatur inuidia, tamquam suauitatis odorem et predicationis sancte lucem non ualens sustinere. Misit et ipse in mundum discipulos, pseudopredicatores, «homines pestilentes» et sceleratos, 15 sathane caupones, aquam miscentes uino et uerbum dei adulterantes, homines subdolos, operarios iniquitatis, nubes sine aqua que a uentis

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1 Persimia *A*, Persones *CD Mo* | magister Albericus *om. C* || 3 Lirot *CD* || 5 pluribus *add. et AB* || 7 bestias *CD Mo, om. AB Vulg.* || 10 De predicatoribus pseudo sine falsis *CD* | prophetis *Mo* || 11 dum *A* || 12 si] sibi *ACD Mo* || 13 tamquam] tantum *ACD Mo* || 14 sancte] sue *C* || 15 discipulos *add. suos ACD Mo* | pseudopredicatores *B*

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5 cfr Ap 17, 8 || 6–7 cfr Jer 16, 16 || 7 cfr Ps 39, 3 || 8 cfr Mt 13, 47 || 11–12 cfr Lc 11, 21 || 15 Prov 29, 8 || 16 cfr Is 1, 22 || 17–p. 104, 3 cfr Juda 12–13

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1 Alberic of Laon (d. 1218). Parisian scholar, preacher, crusader, archbishop of Rheims. See Appendix C: Alberic of Laon, p. 257. || 3 John de Liro (d. cir. 1216). Priest of Liège, spiritual guide, associate of Jacques de Vitry. See Appendix C: John de Liro, p. 285. || 3–4 John of Nivelles (d. 1233). Parisian student, preacher, spiritual director, friend of Jacques de Vitry, dean of Liège. See Appendix C: John of Nivelles, p. 286. || 10 For the concept of pseudo-preachers see McDonnell, p. 461.

circumferuntur, arbores infructuosas, mortuas et eradicatas, fluctus feri maris despumantes confusiones suas, sydera errantia, quibus reseruata est procella tenebrarum in eternum.

- Hii siquidem ministri sathane, transfigurantes se in angelos lucis, 5 posuerunt in celum os suum, lingua autem eorum transiit in terra. Non enim ex predicatione sua fructum animarum uel gloriam dei sed gloriam propriam querebant quidam ex eis. Alii autem per predicationem suam non nisi dignitates uenabantur et prebendas. Alii autem miserabiles homines, reliquias et philacteria sua secum circumferentes, 10 uerbum dei pretiosum uenale laicis exponebant. Vox eorum quidem uox Iacob, manus autem Esau erant, quas ab aliquibus muneribus non excutiebant, «mirantes personas questus causa» et oleo peccatoris multorum capita impinguantes, linientes parietem absque temperamento et consuantes puluillos sub omni cubito et facientes ceruicalia 15 sub capite uniuerse etatis ad capiendas animas, interficientes animas que non moriuntur et uiuificantes animas que non uiuebant propter pugillum ordeï et fragmen panis. Si quis autem in ore eorum quippiam non dedisset, sanctificabant super eum bellum, tribuentibus autem peccata remitti dicebant.
- 20 Non solum autem passim mentiri predicando non erubescunt, sed et falsas reliquias pro summis et pretiosis laicis simplicibus ostendunt, falso iurantes, et seipsos infinitis criminibus obligantes, ut simplices et incautos homines deciperent, et per mendacia multa ualerent pecuniam extorquere, magnificantes fimbrias suas et pulsantes campanulas.
- 25 Feneratoribus autem et aliis deceptis hominibus «turpis lucri gratia» adulantes, ipsos in peccatis suis reddebant securos, peruerse illud euangelicum recitantes: «Date elemosinam et omnia munda sunt uobis», dicentes bonum malum et malum bonum, ponentes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras.

4 angelum C || 5 suum *add.* et A | autem *om.* A | transiit C Mo || 7 propriam gloriam A || 8 suam *om.* C | uenabantur AC Mo, uenebantur BD || 10 eorum] erat CD | quidem eorum CD Mo || 10-11 uox eorum uox quidem A || 14 cubito *add.* manus CD Mo *Vulg.* || 15 interficientes animas *om.* C || 17 in ore] more CDGTW || 20 non<sup>2</sup> *om.* CD || 22 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* C || 24 campanas C

4 cfr 2 Cor 11, 14 || 5 cfr Ps 72, 9 || 10-11 cfr Gen 27, 22 || 12 Iuda 16 || 12-13 cfr Ps 140, 5 || 13-14 cfr Ez 13, 14 || 14-15 cfr Ez 13, 18 || 15-17 cfr Ez 13, 19 || 18 cfr J1 3, 9 || 24 cfr Mt 23, 5 | cfr Ex 39, 23-24 || 25 1 Pet 5, 2 || 27-28 cfr Lc 11, 41 || 28-29 cfr Is 5, 20

Hii autem merguli et fuscinae diaboli ea que turpiter in ecclesiis lucrabantur, in tabernis et ludis deciorum, in commensationibus et ebrietatibus, in immunditiis et meretricibus turpius expendebant, et propter hoc non solum ipsi contemptibiles facti sunt sed et nomen sanctum et uenerabile predicatorum, et predicationis dignitas et auctoritas paruipendebatur et sordebat in conspectu laicorum. 5  
«Propter uos», ait dominus, «nomen meum in gentibus blasphematur».

Hii sunt uaccae Egyptie pingues, quas uidit pharao pascentes in locis palustribus. In paludibus enim auaritie et luxurie erant pascua eorum, de quibus ait propheta Ezechiel: «Quasi uulpes in desertis prophete tui Israel erant.» Isti enim, uelut uulpes dolose et fetantes et fodientes in terra, domesticis auibus insidiabantur, laicis scilicet et ydiotis et nimis credulis mulieribus. Qui autem pro fabrica ecclesiarum suarum predictos sordidos homines et blasphemos mittunt, et prelati ecclesiarum qui eis litteras suas concedunt, de omnibus que ipsi 15 peruerse agunt coram districto iudice reddituri sunt rationem.

Alii autem uani et ambitiosi predicatorum nummum fauoris et pecunias dignitatis, licet occultius, quererent, ipsi tamen deum irridere non poterant. Ipsis enim dicentibus: «Domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus, et hec et illa fecimus?» ipse responsurus est: «Nescio 20 uos, discedite a me operarii iniquitatis, mercedem uestram in seculo recepistis.» Hii autem qui dicunt et non faciunt. Quia non ardent, non incendunt. Imponentes autem grauia et importabilia onera humeris hominum, ipsi digito suo ea mouere nolunt. De his autem dicit beatus Augustinus: «Bene loqui et male uiuere, nil aliud est quam 25 seipsum sua uoce condemnare.»

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1 fuscina C, fuscina D, fulcinulae Mo || 2 in<sup>2</sup> CD Mo, et AB || 4 facti om. A || 7 blasphematur in gentibus A || 8 pingues Egyptie A || 8-9 in locis palustribus pascentes A | palustribus in locis B || 11 isti] ipsi Mo | fetantes C || 12 scilicet om. A || 15 suas om. A || 18 pecunias] diuitias A | dominum D || 19 nonne om. A || 21 operarii iniquitatis om. CD || 22 quia] qui CD || 24 humeris] in humeros A Vulg. | mouere ea CD Mo | nolunt ea mouere A || 26 sua om. QS | uoce add. publica AQS

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2-3 cfr Rom 13, 13, Gal 5, 19-21 || 7 cfr Is 52, 5, Rom 2, 24 || 10-11 Ez 13, 4 || 18-19 cfr Gal 6, 7 || 19-20 cfr Mt 7, 22 || 20-21 cfr Mt 25, 13 || 21 cfr Ps 6, 9 || 21-22 cfr Mt 6, 2 || 23-24 cfr Mt 23, 4

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25-26 The citation has not been identified.

Ve autem eis qui hominibus placent; confusi sunt quoniam deus spreuit illos. Hii sunt qui, philacteria sua dilatantes et ut hominibus placeant omnia opera facientes, ad poliendum sermonem unum multo tempore laborant, quaternos plurimos reuoluentes, ut finem suum  
5 consequantur, uidelicet ut ab auditoribus commendentur.

Et quoniam dicit apostolus, quacumque occasione nomen Christi predicetur, gaudeo et gaudebo, propter predictos lupos ouium uelleribus in hypocrisim uestitos, ueri et fideles ministri Christi pelles ouinas non abiciebant, sed in uirtute spiritus sancti et in simplicitate columbina,  
10 cauti et prudentes uelut serpentes, pleni oculis ante et retro, cum incederent non reuertebantur, neque ad posteriora seu temporalia suos oculos reflectebant. «Christi bonus odor» facti sunt, ex sinceritate sicut ex deo coram deo loquentes. Non secundum carnem militantes, arma enim militie eorum non carnalia, sed potentia deo ad destruc-  
15 tionem munitionum, consilia destruentes et omnem altitudinem extollentem se aduersus scientiam dei, et in captiuitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi «per arma iustitie a dextris et a sinistris», instantes opportune importune, et ministerium suum honorificantes, portantes pacem et illuminantes patriam, clangentes  
20 tubis et ad bellum populum animantes, auertentes semitas iniquitatum et multos ad scientiam ueritatis et ad uiam salutis reducentes.

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1 quoniam] quia *CD* | dominus *D Mo* || 2 illos] eos *ACD Mo Vulg.* ||  
3 opera *add.* sua *AC* || 5 scilicet *CD* || 6 domini *A* || 8 ouinas *om. Mo* ||  
9 in<sup>2</sup> *om. A* || 14 malitiae *Mo* || 15 et *add.* super *CGTW* || 17 in] non *C* ||  
20 populos *CD Mo*

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1-2 cfr Ps 52, 6 || 2 cfr Mt 23, 5 || 6-7 cfr Phil 1, 18 || 7 cfr Jb 31, 20 || 9-10 cfr Mt 10, 16 || 10 cfr Ez 1, 18 || 12 2 Cor 2, 15 || 13-17 cfr 2 Cor 10, 3-5 || 17-18 2 Cor 6, 7 || 18 cfr 2 Tim 4, 2 || 18-19 cfr Rom 11, 13 || 19-20 cfr Num 10, 9

## CAPITULUM XI

### DE RENOuatione OCCIDENTALIS ECCLESIE

Singulis autem diebus status occidentalis ecclesie reformabatur in melius, et illuminabantur per uerbum domini qui diu sederant in tenebris et in umbra mortis. Surgente enim aquilone et austro ueniente 5 et ortum domini perflante, fluebant aromata illius, ualles abundabant frumento et campi domini replebantur ubertate, uinee florebant et mala punica germinabant. In cubilibus, in quibus dracones habitauerant, oriebatur uiror calami et iunci. Super uias pascebantur et in omnibus planis erant pascua eorum et anima ipsorum delectabatur 10 in crassitudine. Pro saliunca ascendebat abies et pro urtica crescebat myrtus, pro ere afferebatur aurum et pro ferro argentum.

Superbia recedente, subintrabat humilitas, loco inuidie caritas et benignitas succedebant. Iram patientia fugabat; tristitia et accidia gaudio spirituali et deuotioni cedebant. Nec erat locus auaritie ubi 15 munificentia et largitas et misericordia pauperum spiritu animas possidebant. Sobrietatis honestas et castitatis decor illicita carnis desideria longius exulare compellebant. Sic igitur timor domini seruos eius reddebat humiles et quietos, caritas beniuolos et benignos, patientia mites et mansuetos, fervor spiritus deuotos, liberalitas et 20 largitas munificos, modestia sobrios, continentia et castitas deo acceptabiles et puros. Tunc aperiebantur oculi cecorum, et aures surdorum patebant. Saliebat sicut ceruus claudus, et aperta erat lingua mutorum. Non caligabant oculi uidentium, et aures audientium diligenter ascultabant. Cor stultorum intelligebat scientiam, et lingua 25 balborum uelociter loquebatur. In spiritu humilitatis et in animo

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3 occidentis *D* || 5 in *om.* *A* || 9 iunci ] menti *C* || 12 offerebatur *C* | et *om.* *C* || 13 subintrauit *A* || 19 caritas *add.* autem *CD* | benignos et beneuolos *Mo* || 21 sobrios *add.* et *A* || 22 acceptos *C* || 23 erat *om.* *D* || 24 caligauerunt *A* || 26 uelociter *ACD Mo*, uolociter *B*

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4-5 cfr Mt 4, 16 || 5-6 cfr Cant 4, 16 || 6-7 cfr Ps 64, 14 || 7 cfr Ps 64, 12 || 7-8 cfr Cant 6, 10 || 8-9 cfr Is 35, 7 || 9-10 cfr Is 49, 9 || 11-12 cfr Is 55, 13 || 12 cfr Is 60, 17 || 23-24 cfr Is 35, 6 || 24-26 cfr Is 32, 3-4 || 26-p. 108, 1 cfr Dan 3, 39

contrito domino seruiebant, sedentes in pulchritudine pacis et in tabernaculo fiducie et in requie opulenta.

Quidam autem ex ipsis qui pignus spiritus acceperant, ut imminetia pericula et fallaces mundi blanditias securius euaderent et tranquillius  
 5 domino deseruirent, seculo renunciantes, cognatis et amicis et terrenis possessionibus ualedicentes, ad portum uite regularis fugiebant, se et sua domino holocaustum suauitatis offerentes, ut centuplum reciperent et uitam eternam possiderent, prudenter pensantes et sapienter attendentes, quoniam difficile est esse in igne et non comburi. Nam  
 10 qui tetigerit picem, coinquinabitur ab ea, et nil magis inimicum est religioni et paci pectoris quam tumultus hominum et consortia prauorum. Corrumpunt enim mores bonos colloquia praua, et a conuictu mores formantur.

#### CAPITULUM XII

### DE UARIIS RELIGIONIBUS ET PRIMO DE HEREMITIS

Fuerunt autem ab initio et a priscis temporibus in partibus occidentis duo religiosorum genera, a se inuicem uiuendi modo et regularibus institutis differentia, quorum quidam heremite alii cenobite nominantur.

20 Heremite siquidem, qui et solitarii dicuntur, mundo penitus mortui et soli Christo uiuentes, quorum uita, ut ait apostolus, «abscondita est cum Christo in deo», in locis desertis uiui sibi eligunt sepulturam,

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1 domino *om.* *C* | sedebant *CD* || 6 ualedicentes] derelicti *C*, derelictis *TW*, relictis *G*, dicentes *D* | fugiebant *add.* et *CD* || 10 tegerit *D* | inquinabitur *A Vulg.* | ab] in *C* || 12 merores *D* | praua] mala *A Vulg.* || 16 primo *om.* *A* || 17 sunt *A*

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1-2 cfr Is 32, 18 || 7-8 cfr Mt 19, 29 || 10 cfr Eccli 13, 1 || 12 cfr 1 Cor 15, 33 || 21-22 Col 3, 3

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17-19 cfr the Rule of Saint Benedict, chapter 1. CSEL, LXXV, 17-19. PL, LXVI, 245-46.

singulare certamen contra spirituales nequitias congregientes. Operum autem suorum solum deum habere testem desiderant, tumultum hominum fugientes, ne leui saltem maculare uitam fame possint. Quanto autem latentius thesaurum absconditum effodiunt, tanto uerius cum propheta dicere possunt: «Secretum meum mihi, secretum 5 meum mihi», siquidem mens diuisa non impetrat. Quanto enim fluuius in plures riuos diuiditur, tanto citius a suo fonte siccatur. Oportet autem quod prius examinatus et probatus sit in congregatione, qui tam arduam uitam aggrediens, solum deum eligit sibi abbatem, ut in se completum ostendat, quod scriptum est: «Spiritualis omnia 10 iudicat, et ipse a nemine iudicatur.» Hanc arduam et precellentem uiam multos tunc temporis ingressos ad tantum perfectionis cumulum uidimus peruenisse, quod, omnibus carnalibus affectionibus superatis, demonibus imperabant.

Frater quidam nomine Reinnerus, postquam a congregatione 15 nigrorum monachorum secessit in heremum in silua quadam Lotharingie, supra cilicium asperrimum indutus lorica et ocreis seu caligis ferreis calciatus, a quinta feria usque ad diem dominicam nil prorsus manducabat. A uespere autem sabbathi usque ad auroram diei sequentis, super pedes suos stans erectus, ad dominum ab orationibus 20 et laudibus diuinis non cessabat.

Vidimus fratrem alium in cellula quadam modica reclusum, qui sex loricis ferreis supra cilicium indutus, ieiuniis et orationibus continue domino seruiebat.

Alium nichilominus uidimus in silua quadam uitam solitariam 25 agentem, qui tanta contemplationis quiete fruebatur, quod unam

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2 dominum *CD Mo* || 3 possint fame uitam *D Mo* || 4 absconditum *add.* in agro *CD Mo Vulg.* || 5-6 secretum<sup>2</sup> meum<sup>2</sup> mihi<sup>2</sup> *om. CD Mo* || 7 riuos plures *A* || 8 oporteret *D* || 9 dominum *Mo* | sibi eligit *ACD Mo* || 11 et<sup>2</sup> ] in *D* || 12 curriculum *CD* || 14 demonibus *add.* etiam *AD Mo* || 15 quidam frater *A* || 16 recessit *A* | silua ] insula *Mo* || 17 super *A* | lorica *om. Mo* || 19 uesperis *D Mo* || 19-20 sequentis diei *C* || 20 supra *CD Mo* | stans *om. A* || 22 Vidimus *add.* et *A* | inclusum *CD* || 23-24 continuis *ACD Mo* || 25 nichilominus ] quoque *A* | solitariam *Mo* || 26 fruebatur quiete *C* || 26-p. 110, 1 una modica *D*

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1 cfr Eph 6, 12 || 4 cfr Mt 13, 44 || 5-6 Is 24, 16 || 10-11 cfr 1 Cor 2, 15

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8-9 cfr the Rule of Saint Benedict, chapter 1. CSEL, LXXV, 17-19. PL, LXVI, 245-46.

modicam spiritualis suauitatis horam pro cunctis mundi diuitiis et deliciis non permutaret. Hic autem in tantum meditationis excessum fere continue raptus erat, quod sanctam trinitatem mentis ante oculos in pinguedine contemplationis sue semper presentem uidebat. Tanto  
 5 autem caritatis feruore succensus erat, quod quendam tyrannum qui illi, dum esset in seculo, corporales oculos eruerat adeo diligebat, quod uix in mente sua poterat reperire, quod esset sine eo in eterna beatitudine.

## CAPITULUM XIII

DE DUOBUS GENERIBUS CENOBITARUM  
SEU REGULARIUM

Cenobite autem dicuntur, qui deo militant in conuentu et fratrum congregatione, bonum reputantes et iocundum habitare fratres in unum. Cuiusmodi fuit primus conuentus fidelium, hii scilicet qui in  
 15 primitiua ecclesia tamquam primitie credentium conuersi sunt ad dominum. De quibus dicitur: «Multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una.» Hii autem, postquam fuerint in caritate concordēs, regulariter et ordinate uiuentes, quanto plures simul congregantur, tanto magis a malignis spiritibus metuuntur. Inimicis enim suis  
 20 huiusmodi conuentus et congregatio ualde terribilis est, ut «castrorum acies ordinata».

Sunt autem cenobitarum diuersa genera, uariis institutionibus et diuersis uiuendi modis multipliciter distincta. Omnes tamen unum et idem habent principale fundamentum quasi lapidem quadratum.  
 25 Oportet enim quod seculo renuncient, proprium non habeant, superiori suo obediant, et continentiam obseruent. Super hoc fundamentum tot sunt edificate mansiones quot sunt regularium uarietates.

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1 suauitatis spiritualis *A* || 3 ante mentis *CD Mo* || 15 conuersi sunt *om. C* || 17 fuerunt *AD* || 18 ordinate] concorditer *A*, ordinarie *Mo* | uiuentes *add.* et ordinate *A* | similes *Mo* || 19 enim *om. Mo* || 24 principale fundamentum habent *A* || 26 obseruant *D* || 27 edificate *ACD Mo*, edificarium *B* | regularium *ACD Mo*, regulari *B*



Quidam autem superedificant aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, qui regularia obseruationum precepta, sicut prudenter instituta sunt, ita diligenter et stricte obseruare non negligunt. Quidam uero non solum lignum, fenum, stipulam per multitudinem uenialium, sed insuper ferrum, plumbum et es superedificant per uite dissolutionem 5 et transgressionem mandatorum. Qui autem inobedientes uel incontinentes sunt, uel proprium retinent uel ad seculum reuertuntur, fundamentum destruentes, in uanum laborant et frustra superedificare nituntur.

Cum igitur a priscis temporibus in partibus occidentis due tantum 10 fuissent regularium diuersitates, monachi scilicet nigri sancti Benedicti regulam profitentes, et canonici albi secundum regulam beati Augustini uiuentes, postquam peccatis exigentibus, primo modica negligentes, paulatim cadere ceperunt, ad tantam dissolutionem plures regularium conuentus deuenerunt, quod uiri timorati et prudentes, sub alio habitu 15 et aliis institutis domino militaturi, ab ipsis recesserunt. Sicut scriptum est: «Fugite de medio Babylonis, saluet unusquisque animam suam, qui enim tetigerit morticinum immundus erit et qui tetigerit picem coinquinabitur ab ea. Corrumpunt enim bonos mores consortia et colloquia praua.» 20

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1 argentum *add.* et *CD Mo* || 2 regularium *C Mo* | constituta *CD* || 3 districte *A* | uero] autem *A* || 4 fenum] sed etiam *A* | stipulam *add.* fenum *A* || 10–11 fuissent tantum *C* || 11 scilicet *om. A* || 11–12 regulam sancti Benedicti *A* || 12 sancti *A* || 14 paululum *Mo* | cadere] eadem *D* | ceperunt *add.* tandem *CD Mo* || 16 militaturi *ACD Mo*, militari *B* || 18 morticinum *D Mo* || 19 inquinabitur *A Vulg.* || 19–20 colloquia mala et consortia praua *A*

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1 cfr 1 Cor 3, 12 || 4 cfr 1 Cor 3, 12 || 17 cfr Jer 51, 6 || 18 cfr Lev 11, 24 || 18–19 cfr Eccli 13, 1 || 19–20 cfr 1 Cor 15, 33

## CAPITULUM XIII

### DE CYSTERCIENSIBUS

Primi igitur cyster-cienses, nigrum habitum in grisium commutantes, uetera reformare et noua superaddere studuerunt, non solum a se  
5 superflua resecando sed a multis licitis artius abstinendo. «Carnem suam cum uitiiis et concupiscentiis crucifixerunt», corpus suum castigantes et in seruitutem redigentes. Pellibus siquidem et camisiis non utuntur neque fermoralibus, nisi forte cum necesse fuerit ipsos equitare. Carnes autem non nisi in graui infirmitate manducant. Pis-  
10 cibus, ouis, lacte et caseo non uestuntur communiter. Quandoque tamen, licet raro, pietatis et releuationis intuitu pro pitantiis et summis deliciis hiis utuntur. Fratres eorum in grangiis et mansionibus suis extra abbatiam uinum non bibunt.

Habent autem tam monachi quam alii fratres lectos ex stramine et  
15 sagis mediocriter duos, nec mollitie pigros nec ornatu delicatos, in quibus cum tunica et cuculla uestiti iacent. Media autem nocte surgentes, in psalmis, hymnis, et canticis spiritualibus iubilando et deum laudando, usque ad lucis auroram perseuerant, et tunc primam horam et missam alacriter in dei laudem explentes. Postquam in  
20 capitulo per uerba et uerba a peccatis fuerint expiati, residuum diei in labore manuum suarum et lectione et orationibus non otiosi aut desides transcurrunt. Silentium autem per totum fere diem obseruantes, mutuis colloctionibus et collationibus spiritualibus unam sibi horam reseruant, sed raro, inuicem consolantes et inuicem  
25 instruantes. A festo sancte crucis in septembri, in quo omnibus

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2 De *add.* monachis *C* || 4-5 superflua a se *A* || 5 resecantes *Mo* || 9 autem *om.* *C* | non *om.* *Mo* | non *add.* utuntur *C* | infirmitate *add.* non *Mo* || 11 caro *C* | recreationis *C*, reuelationis *D Mo* | pro *om.* *C* || 14 ex] de *C* || 15 mediocriter duos] medio circumduos *C* || 16 cuculla et tunica *A* || 17 psalmis *add.* et *AC* || 18 dominum *D Mo* || 19 laudem *CD Mo*, laude *AB* || 23 et collationibus *om.* *CD* || 24 sed raro *om.* *CDGTWJRKOP Mo*

congregatis abbatibus capitulum generale Cystercii celebrant, usque ad pascha semel in die comedunt.

Singulis autem annis per uniuersas abbatias mittunt uisitatores tam in capite quam in membris absque personarum acceptione, que corrigenda sunt corrigentes, neminem palpantes, nulli adulantes, sed, 5  
distractione et seueritate ordinis exigente, euellunt et destruunt, disperdunt et dissipant, edificant et plantant, secundum quod uiderint expedire. Et precipue propter hoc in uirtute et ueritate eorum religio perseverat.

Modestiam autem in omnibus sectantes, corporibus suis ualde 10  
districti sunt et austeri. Pauperibus autem et hospitibus sua liberaliter exponunt. Tamquam boues de armento domini paleam manducantes, grana superuenientibus reseruant. Foris non mansit peregrinus, et ostium eorum uiatoribus patuit. Buccellam suam non comederunt soli, et benedixerunt eis, pauperum latera de uelleribus ouium suarum 15  
calefacta.

Fama autem et opinione sanctitatis eorum quasi ex odore unguenti adeo repleta est tota domus ecclesie Ihesu Christi, quod non est prouincia uel regio ad quam uinea illa benedicta palmites suos non extenderit. Dilatauit eos dominus, et beata eorum patrona uirgo Maria, 20  
cui unanimiter et uno humero ubique deuotissime seruiunt, locum tentorii eorum et non solum usque ad mare sed etiam ultra mare propagines ipsorum protendit, ut iam per experientiam in se completum agnouerint quod ait dominus in euangelio: «Centuplum accipiet in hoc seculo et uitam eternam in futuro.» 25

Suscitauit autem dominus eis a principio «nouelle plantationis» eorum agricolam peritum, prudentem et sanctum uirum, quem inuenit dominus secundum cor suum in omni domo sua fidelissimum et

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1 Cisterni C || 2 manducant CD Mo | in die comedunt semel A || 7 dissipant et disperdunt A | uiderunt D || 11 hospitalibus Mo || 13 grana ] generalia C | reseruabant Mo || 14 uiatori A Vulg. | comedunt CD || 20 eos om. ACD Mo || 21 humero ] uoto C || 23 ipsorum ] eorum AC || 24 agnouerunt D | accipiet AC Vulg. || 26 plantationes C

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4 cfr Rom 2, 11 || 6-7 cfr Jer 1, 10 || 12 cfr Is 65, 25 || 13-14 cfr Jb 31, 32 || 14 cfr Jb 31, 17 || 15-16 cfr Jb 31, 20 || 17-18 cfr Jo 12, 3 || 19-20 cfr Ez 17, 7 || 20-22 cfr Is 54, 2 || 22-23 cfr Ps 79, 12 || 24-25 cfr Mt 19, 29, Mc 10, 30 || 26 Ps 143, 12 || 27-28 cfr Act 13, 22, 1 Rg 13, 14 || 28 cfr Num 12, 7

operarium in uinea sua diligentem et studiosum, qui uniuerse familie domini de thesauro suo noua proferens et uetera, erogaret tritici mensuram et daret illis cibum in tempore, sanctum uidelicet Bernardum Clareuallis abbatem, totius religionis probatissimam margaritam, 5 lucernam ordinis, et stellam in firmamento ecclesie dei radiantem, qui non ab homine neque per hominem sed sola dei inspiratione, preeminentem sanctarum scripturarum accepit intelligentiam, et quasi de ipso dominici pectoris fonte potauit aquas celestes, quas diffunderet in plateis multis. Et quoniam potens fuit in opere et sermone exemplo 10 sancte et preeminentis conuersationis et doctrina celestis predicationis, sed et uirtute miraculorum et mirabilium operum, multis factus est «odor uite in uitam», qui, relictis fallacibus mundi blanditiis, transierunt ad religionem, asperum et ponderosum mundi huius iugum suauiissimo cystericiensis ordinis iugo permutantes. Quod enim impossibile est 15 hominibus possibile et facile est deo.

Multos enim uidimus nobiles et delicatos in seculo, cybos carnales quantumcumque curiose et sumptuose paratos fastidientes, egrotatiuos et debiles, qui postquam artam et arduam predictae religionis aggressi sunt uiam, in ieiuniis et uigiliis, in frigore et fame et paupertate domino 20 seruientes, aridis et insipidis uescentes cibariis, recuperabant sanitatem. Vnde cum quadam die frater quidam, qui Phisicus probatus et nominatus fuerat in seculo, communes cybos ordinis quasi complexionis sue

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1-2 domini familie CD || 3 illi A Mo, om. CD | sanctum AD Mo, secundum BC | uidelicet om. C, scilicet D || 8 potauerit A | coelestes aquas Mo || 14 quod | hoc C | enim om. C | est om. Mo || 17 sumptuose ] studiose CD | egrotantes CD || 18 arduam add. uiam A || 19 uitam A | in<sup>2</sup> ] et C | fame et frigore A || 20 insipidis ] hispidis C || 21 qui om. CD || 22 fuerit C, fuit D

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1 cfr Mt 20,1 || 1-2 cfr Mt 13, 52 || 2-3 cfr Lc 12, 42 || 5 cfr Gen 1, 17 || 6 cfr Gal 1, 1 || 8-9 cfr Prov 5, 16 || 9 cfr Lc 24, 19 || 12 2 Cor 2, 16 || 14-15 cfr Mt 19, 26

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17 Du Cange cites the use of *egrotatiuus* by Saint Bernard, and the Thesaurus linguae latinae gives a usage by Boethius. || 21 ff Frenken, n° 11, pp. 103-04; Greven, Exempla, n° 11, pp. 13-14. A similar anecdote is found in Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus miraculorum, VII, 47 (Strange, II, 67-68). It is also given by Stephen of Bourbon (Lecoy, Anecdotes, n° 256, pp. 217-18, n° 397, pp. 349-50). See also Jacob's Well, an English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience, ed. A. Brandeis, Early English Text Society, Original Series 115, London, 1900, p. 290.

contrarios respueret et aliis fratribus materia scandali singularis effectus fuisset, sequenti nocte uidit in somnis beatam cysteriensis ordinis aduocatam uirginem Mariam singulis fratribus quasi in processione transeuntibus in cochleari argenteo et pixide aureo electuarium tribuentem. Cum autem ad predictum Phisicum peruentum 5 fuisset, et ipse os suum medicine porrigeret, beata uirgo manum retrahens quasi indignando et increpando, dixit illi: «Medice cura teipsum.»

Multi siquidem uiri sancti a primordiis et prima institutione cysteriensis ordinis uariis karismatum donis preter communem religionis 10 obseruantiam usque ad tempora nostra inter ceteros preeminentes, licet latere et abscondi sub modio habuissent in affectu, a domino tamen manifesti super candelabrum positi sunt in effectum. Alii scripturarum intelligentia precellentes, alii sermone predicationis et gratia edificationis prepotentes, alii uirtute miraculorum et gratia curationum 15 insignes, alii spiritum prophetie diuinis, illuminati reuelationibus, habentes, alii uirtute abstinentie et ieiuniorum humane possibilitatis mensuram excedentes, alii in orationibus et psalmodiis et laudibus diuinis tantam a domino consecuti sunt gratiam et deuotionis suauitatem, muscas morientes et importunas cogitationes a se penitus abi- 20 gentes, quod in fine nocturni et matutini officii, sicut adipe et pinguedine usque ad summum repleti, uellent, si esset possibile, tempore nocturno reuertente, rursus iteratum officium inchoare.

Vidimus fratrem quendam mirabilem a domino gratiam consecutum. Dum enim aliquis peccata sua confiteri noluisset, deus illi peccata que 25 non erant per confessionem tecta reuelabat, ut ad confitendum induceret peccatores.

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1 contrarios *add.* esse *C* || 4 et ] ex *CD* | aurea *A Mo* || 6 manum *om. CD* || 7 et increpando *om. CD* || 7-8 medice cura teipsum *marg. AQ* || 9 a primordiis *om. CD* || 13 manifestati *C* | effectum *D* | alii *add.* scientia *A* || 14 intelligentia *om. A* | preeminentes *A* || 15 preponentes *C* || 19 tamquam *Mo* | secuti *C* || 20 impetuosas *C* || 21 officii et matutini *A* || 22 possibile esset *A* | tempore ] rumpere *C* || 25 uoluisset *C* || 26 detecta *AQSJR Mo*, tracta *G*

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7-8 Lc 4, 23 || 12-13 cfr Mt 5, 15 || 20 cfr Eccle 10, 1 || 21-22 cfr Ps 62, 6 || 25-26 cfr Ps 31, 1

## CAPITULUM XV

### DE MONIALIBUS CYSTERCIENSIBUS

A principio autem ordinis feminarum sexus fragilior ad tante distractionis seueritatem et perfectionis cacumen aspirare non ualebat. Nam  
5 et uiris fortioribus, nisi eos dominus confortaret, tantum pondus ualde graue et pene intolerabile uidebatur. Postea uero deo deuote uirgines et sancte mulieres feruore spiritus et desiderio femineum animum exuentes, euadentes mundi naufragium, ad tranquillam cystericiensis ordinis portum, assumpto regulari habitu, transierunt. Aliis enim  
10 monialium congregationibus propter nimiam uite dissolutionem secure sese committere non audebant.

Ad tantam enim corruptionem et defectum claustrales mulieres ubique fere deuenerant, quod ad eas tutum refugium non habebant. Quantum enim periculosum sit et difficile inter impudicas castitatem  
15 conseruare nemo dubitat qui talium mulierum mille artes et maleficia non ignorat. Sed et passim et publice pro miserabili monasteriorum ingressu pecuniam exigebant, allegantes suam paupertatem, et de

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2 monialibus] monachis *D* || 3 sexus feminarum *A* || 4 ualebat] audebat *CD*  
*Mo* || 7 et<sup>1</sup> *om. B* | sancte *add. et AB* | desiderio *add. uite eterne CGTW* ||  
9 regulariter *Mo* || 10 nimiam *om. C* || 10-11 congregationibus secure non  
audebant se committere propter nimiam uite dissolutionem *A* || 11 se *A* ||  
12 mulieres *om. ABHLQS* || 13 fere ubique *A* || 14-15 conseruare castitatem  
*A* || 15 artes mille *A*

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Chapter 15. The thirteenth was the century of great expansion of the Cistercian nuns. The origins of many convents rest in obscurity, and it is difficult to say categorically how many houses actually existed. The remarks of Jacques de Vitry (p. 117, 7-10) are not unfounded. The problems consequent upon the great influx were recognized by the Cistercian general chapter in 1212. In 1220 no more already existing monasteries were to be incorporated into the Order. In 1228 it was decided not to found new nunneries, and, should any existing convent adopt their rule, the Order would assume no responsibility for its care. Despite the precautions, it would seem that the legislation was often enough circumvented in practice. See Appendix C: Cistercian Nuns, p. 262.

symonie crimine pessimo non curantes, domum orationis in forum negotiationis conuertebant. Sed et proprium omnes fere retinere non timebant, cum Anania et Saphira a domino reprobate.

Postquam autem premonstratensis ordinis uiri timorati et religiosi, sapienter attendentes et familiari exemplo experti quam graue sit et 5 periculosum ipsos custodes custodire, in domibus ordinis sui feminas iam de cetero non recipere decreuerunt, multiplicata est sicut stelle celi et excreuit in immensum cystericiensis ordinis religio sanctimonialium, benedicente eis domino et dicente: «Crescite et multiplicamini et implete celum.» Fundabantur cenobia, edificabantur monasteria, 10 replebantur claustra, confluebant uirgines, currebant uidue, et mulieres coniugate de consensu maritorum carnale matrimonium in spirituale commutabant. Ex aliis monasteriis moniales, mutato habitu, ad fructum melioris uite et artioris uie aduolabant. Matrone nobiles et potentes in seculo, relictis hereditatibus terrenis et immensis posses- 15 sionibus, preelgebant esse abiecte in conspectu domini magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum. Illustris prosapie uirgines oblata matrimonia contempnentes, relictis ingenuis parentibus et blandientis seculi deliciis, proiectis ornamentis et uestibus pretiosis, Christo sponso uirginum iungebantur in paupertate et humilitate, et uite 20 durioris asperitate domino deuotissime seruientes, temporales diuitias et fallaces delicias pro spiritualibus sapienter permutantes.

Vt enim de aliis huius ordinis monasteriis et congregationibus sanctimonialium, que in locis aliis passim edificabantur, taceamus, in una dyocesi leodiensis regione septem huius ordinis et professionis 25 abbatias monialium in tempore modico fundari et construi uidimus, et

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7 de cetero iam *A* || 9 benedicente domino et dicente eis *Mo* || 10 celum ] domum *D Mo*, terram *Vulg.* || 12 maritorum *add.* suorum *Mo* || 14 acrioris *A* || 16 abiecte esse *ACD Mo* | conspectu ] domo *ACDQSGTWJRKOP Mo Vulg.* || 18 contempnebant *A* | ingenuis parentibus relictis *A* | ingeniis *CD* || 20 iugebantur *D* || 21–22 delicias et fallaces diuitias *A* || 22 commutantes *A* || 25 diocesis *D Mo* | et *om. CD* || 26 in *om. A*

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1–2 cfr Jo 2, 16 || 7–8 cfr Gen 22, 17 || 9–10 cfr Gen 1, 28 || 16–17 cfr Ps 83, 11 || 19 cfr 1 Tim 2, 9

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24–26 For the identification of the seven Cistercian convents see Appendix C: Cistercian Nuns in the Diocese of Liège, p. 262.

sanctis mulieribus tamquam liliis et uiolis exornari. Adeo enim sanctis  
 et deuotis uirginibus habundat predicta deo amabilis prouincia,  
 tamquam ortus liliorum et paradus deliciarum. Quod pro certo  
 credimus et in ueritate comperimus, si triplo plures essent in partibus  
 5 illis huius ordinis abbacie seu monasteria, numquam huiusmodi  
 deessent lilia. Sed prompto animo et ardenti desiderio in holocaustum  
 pinguedinis et odorem suauitatis sese offerrent pie et deuote uirgines  
 domino, regnum mundi et omnem ornatum eius contempnentes propter  
 amorem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ut tranquilla deuotione domino  
 10 seruiantes, seculi pereuntis euadentes incendia, ad tabernaculum federis  
 confugerent, ut esset eis, secundum Ysaie uerbum, «in umbraculum  
 diei ab estu et in securitatem et absconsionem a turbine et a pluuiis».

Non solum autem in partibus occidentis sed in orientalibus pro-  
 uinciis, in Constantinopoli et Cypro et Antiochia et Tripoli et Accon,  
 15 nouis eiusdem ordinis constructis feminarum monasteriis, predicta  
 domini uinea propagines benedictionis extendit.

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1 monialibus *Mo* | adornari *C* | enim ] autem *CD Mo* || 2 habundabat *C* |  
 predicta *add.* et *A* | prouincia ] regio *A* || 5 huius ... numquam *om.* *JRS Mo* |  
 huiusmodi *add.* non *Mo* || 7 odore *CD*, rem *A* | se *A* || 9 amorem *add.*  
 Christi *C* || 10 ad ] et *C* || 11 uerbum *add.* et *A* || 14 in ] et *C* || 15 monaste-  
 riis feminarum *A*

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10-11 cfr Num 16, 43 || 11-12 Is 4, 6

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13-15 Saint Mary of Percheio, Constantinople, about 1203-1261; Saint Mary  
 Magdalene, Nicosia, Cyprus, between 1192-1489; a Cistercian convent at  
 Antioch cannot be identified; Saint Mary Magdalene, Tripoli; Saint Mary  
 Magdalene, Acre. See Appendix C: Cistercian Nuns in the East, p. 268.



CAPITULUM XVI

DE FRATRIBUS CALATRAPIE

In partibus autem Hyspanie quidam deuoti et humiles uiri, qui fratres Calatrapie nominantur, predicti ordinis regulam et obseruationes professi, addiderunt insuper manus suas domino consecrare, 5 auctoritate summi pontificis et consensu totius ordinis contra sarracenos pugnantes et ad defensionem christianorum contra impios et infideles homines uoto salubriter obligati. Vt autem semper ad pugnam sint expediti et parati, fermoralibus utuntur. Sed et dominus papa Innocentius, labores eorum misertus, tempore expeditionis et belli eis 10 carnibus uti concessit. Quando uero in locis desertis uel nemoribus habitant, de uenatione sua licet eis penuriam suam edendo releuare.

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4 Calatrapie *CD Mo*, Calaturrie *B*, Calatrarie *A* || 5 consecrare domino *AC* ||  
7 impios contra *C* || 8 ad pugnam semper *A* || 9 parati et expediti *A* ||  
10 miseratus *Mo* || 11 uel] et *A* || 12 releuare *ACD Mo*, reuelare *B*

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Chapter 16. The knights of Calatrava were founded in 1158, approved by Alexander III in 1164, and affiliated with Cîteaux under the abbot of Morimund in 1187. The administration of the Order was annexed to the Crown in 1489, and in 1523 the mastership was assumed in perpetuity by the sovereign. It was dissolved in the nineteenth century. See Appendix C: Calatrava, Order of, p. 266. || 9-10 Pope Innocent III.

CAPITULUM XVII

DE MONACHIS VALLIS CAULIUM

- Sunt alii fratres in episcopatu lingonensi monachi deo amabiles et ualde religiosi, qui de Valle Caulium nominantur. Hii religionem  
5 cysterциensis ordinis in uictu et uestitu et diuinis officiis et in omnibus aliis districte et diligenter obseruant, excepto quod cellulas modicas causa maioris tranquillitatis et pacis sibi construxerunt, ut in eis tempore meditationis, lectionis, orationis, tanto deuotius quanto secretius, clauso sensualitatis ostio, intra cubiculum suum soli deo  
10 uacare queant. Adeo autem ab omni exterioris cure preputio corda sua circumcidere studuerunt, quod nec greges nec armenta nec terras arabiles nec alias habent possessiones, ne, temporalibus occupati sollicitudinibus et curis huius seculi, ab intentione spiritualium retardentur.
- 15 Prefixerunt autem extra septa monasterii sui terminos, quos non licet eis euagando preterire. Solus autem prior cum aliquo de fratribus suis, ut subiecta sibi uisitet monasteria uel alia necessaria causa, potest exire, reliquis simplicibus fratribus in domo uelut Iacob commorantibus. Habent autem infra terminos suos hortos olerum et arborum,  
20 ad quos excolendos certis et constitutis horis egrediuntur, ut manducent labores manuum suarum. Sed et certos possident redditus, quos

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4 Callium *ACD Mo* | religionem *om. Mo* || 5 ordinis *add. instituta Mo* | in<sup>1</sup> *om. Mo* | in<sup>2</sup> *om. CD* || 8 lectionis *add. et A* || 9 secretius *ACD Mo*, securitis *B* || 10 precipitio *CDGTWK* || 12 ne ] nec *AC Mo* || 16 eis *CD Mo*, eos *AB* || 17 monasteria uisitet *C* | causa *om. CD* || 18-19 commorantes *D* || 21 manum *Mo*

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10-11 cfr Jer 4, 4 || 13 cfr Lc 21, 34, Mt 13, 22 || 20-21 cfr Ps 127, 2

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Chapter 17. The monastery of Val-des-Choux, Burgundy (Côte-d'Or), was founded in 1193 by Viard (Guido). Innocent III confirmed the Order in 1205. The abbey was suppressed in 1791. See Appendix C: Val-des-Choux, p. 297. || 20 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 3. CSEL, LVII, p. 361. PL, XXXIII, 960, 7.

absque magno labore ad usus necessarios annuatim recipiunt. Ne aliqua egestatis molestia spiritus a suo cursu retardetur, uel necessitate cogente oporteat ipsos mendicare aut manibus alienis inhiare, non plures in sua congregatione recipiunt, quam de redditibus suis mediocriter ualeant procurare.

5

Et quoniam scriptum est: «Nemo militans deo implicat se secularibus negotiis», quam prudenter et prouide predicti Vallis Caulium monachi consuluerunt saluti anime sue, ut libere possent diuinorum contemplationi uacare. Norunt melius per experientiam illi, qui, ad exteriorum uenationem frequenter exeuntes, amiserunt benedictionem cum Esau, sic stulti ut cum spiritu ceperant, carne non solum consummantur, sed insuper consummantur. Qui negotiationem et questum pietatem estimantes, dum monasteria sua possessionibus ampliare modis omnibus satagunt, non sapienter illud euangelicum attendunt: «Quid prodest homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur anime autem sue detrimentum patiatur?» Exiuit Semei de Iherusalem per cupiditatem et a Salomone interfectus est. Exiuit Dyna filia Iacob per curiositatem de domo patris sui, et a Sychem iuvene impudico corrupta est. Exiuit filius prodigus per luxuriam et, portionem substantie sue luxuriose consumens, siliquis porcorum quos pascebat, saturari non ualebat.

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Predicti autem fratres, circumspecti et prudentes infra terminos suos, caute recluduntur, ne, uento strepitus secularis, lucerna eorum extingatur, omnem a se murmuris occasionem et ambitionis materiam rescindentes, dum alter alteri non inuidet, nec alium se contempto sibi in temporalium amministratione prepositum dolet.

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1 ne *add.* autem *CD Mo* || 2 cursu suo *CD Mo* || 4 congregatione sua *CD Mo* || 6-7 negotiis secularibus *A* || 8 sue *om. A* || 9 illi melius per experientiam *C* || 11 cum ] quod *C* | consummantur ] consummentur *A Mo*, consummant *C* || 12 sed insuper consummantur *om. CD* | negotium *C* || 15 mundum uniuersum *A* | lucraretur *D* || 20 quibus porci pascebantur *CTW*, qui porci pascebantur *G* || 24 concepto *C*

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6-7 2 Tim 2, 4 || 11-12 cfr Gal 3, 3 || 12 cfr 1 Tim 6, 6, || 14-16 cfr Mt 16, 26 || 20 cfr Lc 15, 16

## CAPITULUM XVIII

### DE MONACHIS CARTUSIENSIBUS

- Est alia sanctorum congregatio monachorum, quos cartusienses appellant, in ultimis Burgundie partibus caput et principium habentes. Hii  
5 siquidem non plures quam duodecim sub uno priore, qui tertius decimus est, pariter inhabitant. Habent enim singuli cellas singulas a quibus numquam exire licet, nisi ad officium misse et ad matutinas, excepto quod in festis duodecim lectionum simul in refectorio manducant, et ad collationem et diuini uerbi predicationem, congregantur.  
10 Aliis autem diebus in cellis suis soli manducant, pulmenta sua decoquentes et sibi preparantes. Tribus autem diebus in ebdomada secundum communem regule institutionem pane et aqua tantum uescuntur. Ciliciis diebus ac noctibus uestiuntur. Extra terminos prefixos nullam licet eis recipere possessionem, nec umquam metas sibi constitutas  
15 egrediendo transeunt, exceptis monasteriorum prioribus quando ad generale capitulum semel in anno Cartusii conueniunt uel quando pro necessitatibus domus aliquando exire compelluntur. Habent autem certum animalium numerum et certas metas possessionum quibus mediocriter austeram uitam ualeant sustentare. In modo autem et  
20 usu ciborum non discrepant a cisterciensibus.

Si quis eis aliquid abstulerit uel alio modo iniuriatus fuerit, nullam contra ipsum in iudicio causam mouent. Vnde nec proximos, licet sibi inimicantes, scandalizant, nec aduocatis ad lites et iurgia indigent,

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3 monachorum *om. Mo* | carturienses *B* || 6 enim] autem *ACD Mo* | singulas cellas *A* || 8 festo *AC* || 9 et<sup>2</sup> *om. Mo* | congregantur predicationem *C* || 12 tantum *om. C* | tantum et aqua *A* || 13 fixos *A* || 14 nec] non *C* || 15 transgrediendo *CD Mo* || 16 Cartusii *W*, Carturii *BCD GTHLKOP*, Carthusii *JR*, Carthuri *AQS* || 19 sustentare ualeant *A* || 19-20 ciborum et usu *C* || 20 a cisterciensibus non discrepant *CD Mo* || 21 alio] aliquo *C* | iniuratus *ACD* || 22 causam *om. C* || 23 iniuriantes *C*

nec curiam seculares in detrimentum anime sue eos oportet frequentare, illud apostolicum sapienter pensantes quod ad Corinthios Paulus loquens ait: «Iam quidem omnino delictum est in uobis quod iudicia habetis inter uos. Quare non magis iniuriam accipitis, quare non magis fraudem patimini?» Et subiungit statim: «An nescitis quoniam 5 iniqui regnum dei non possidebunt?» Iniquitatem, ut arbitror, iudicat, si quis pro commodo temporali fratrem suum conturbando et scandalizando in odium fraternum inducit. Quomodo enim caritatem dei in se habet, qui bonum pro malo reddere tenetur et plus possessionem temporalem quam fratris animam diligere conuincitur, cum etiam 10 secundum ordinem caritatis plus amare teneamur animam proximi quam salutem et uitam corporis nostri?

Huius autem religionis rigor districtiois et districtio rigoris, tamquam fornax spiritus sancti aurum purgans et scoriam ex argento separans, falsos fratres diu retinere non potest. Non solum enim 15 inimicos crucis Christi quorum deus uenter est, qui in aliis congregationibus aliquanto tempore ualent subsistere et eorum obseruantias in angaria portare, arida cella et aspera conuersatio cito euomit, sed quoscumque alios, qui in ueritate non ambulant, regule seueritas tamquam paleam citius exsufflat et abicit. Neque inter sanctos fratres 20 uelut inter paradisi arbores abscondi seu latere longo tempore possunt, quin eorum nuditas, sicut legimus de primis parentibus, facile deprehendatur, nisi induti fuerint uirtute ex alto, qui tam arduam uiam aggrediuntur.

Quemdam autem ex hiis fratribus uidimus, qui, cum die quadam 25 ante debitam refectionis horam supra modum in cellula sua esuriens, uix horas diei consuetas pre nimia anxietate dicere ualeret, uidit sathanam, in specie mulieris pulcherrime introgressum, pulmentum, quod ad focum frater posuerat, cum nimia festinatione preparantem.

1 oportet *add.* adire *Mo* | frequenter *Mo* || 2 pensantes] attendentes *C* || 3 nobis *C* | in uobis *om.* *Mo* || 4 quare ... quare] quia ... quia *CD* || 6 iniqui] impii *A* || 7 commodo *om.* *CD* | temporali *add.* lucro *C* | et *om.* *D* || 9 tenetur] nititur *C* || 11 teneam *C* || 15 enim] autem *A* || 18 cito euomit conuersatio *A* || 20 fratres sanctos *CD* || 21 possent *C* || 23 uitam *A* || 26 cella *A* | sua *om.* *Mo* || 28 sathan *C* | specie *ACD* *Mo*, speciem *B* | pulcherrime mulieris *A* || 29 posuerat frater *A*

3-5 1 Cor 6, 7 || 5-6 cfr 1 Cor 6, 9 || 9 cfr Rom 12, 17 || 16 cfr Phil 3, 18 || 23 cfr Lc 24, 49

Accedens temptator enim, qui ei famem pene intolerabilem immiserat, ignem sufflabat, ligna fortiter accendebat. Tandem autem pisis quas optime preparauerat coquus ille infernalis in scutellam positus coram fratre, ab oculis eius euauit. Ille uero, orationes multiplicans et se  
 5 crucis signaculo frequenter communiens, uix tandem, deo auxiliante, euadere potuit et horam refectionis regularem expectare.

Cum autem intra se hesitaret, utrum ferculum a demone preparatum manducare deberet, consuluit priorem suum, uirum sanctum, prudentem et religiosum, qui cum respondisset ei, quod nulla creatura dei  
 10 reicienda esset, que cum gratiarum actione reciperetur. Postquam frater totum manducasset pulmentum, in ueritate affirmabat quod numquam in seculo uel in religione comederat cibum tam artificialiter et ita bene paratum.

## CAPITULUM XIX

## DE FRATRIBUS ET MONACHIS GRANDISMONTIS

Est altera fratrum religio seu regularis institutio, que de Grandimonte nominatur, quorum caput et originale monasterium in partibus est Aquitanie. Hii siquidem Grandismontis fratres a principio ordinis prudenter instituerunt, quod monachi spiritualibus et diuinis officiis  
 20 tantum intenderent, temporalium amministrazione et prouidentia

1 enim temptator *CD Mo*, autem temptator *A* | ei *om. Mo* || 3 ille] ipse *CD* | scutella *Mo* | scutellam] cellula *C* || 3-4 coram fratre positus *CD Mo* || 5 signaculo crucis *A* || 6 potuit euadere *CD Mo* || 7 ferculum *add. sibi A* || 8 sanctum *om. A* || 10 postquam *add. autem A* || 11 frater *om. A* || 12-13 cibum tam artificialiter et ita bene paratum comederat *CD* || 13 ita *om. A* || 16 seu *om. CD* | institutionis *C* | qui *A* || 17 appellatur *CD* || 20 tantum *om. A*, tantummodo *CD Mo*

9-10 cfr 1 Tim 4, 4

Chapter 19. The Congregation of Grandmont was founded in 1076 by Saint Stephen of Muret (or Thiers) at Muret in Auvergne. After the founder's death the house was translated to Grandmont. Its history terminated during the French Revolution. See Appendix C: Grandmont and Saint Stephen of Muret, p. 274.

laicis fratribus credita et relictā. Regulam autem et instituta cyster-  
ciensis ordinis in aliis omnibus pene observant, excepto quod numquam  
carnes postquam professionem fecerint. De cetero licet eis manducare,  
quantacumque egritudine pregraentur. Silentium insuper in ecclesia  
quamdiu diuinis intersunt officiis et in refectorio et in dormitorio 5  
tantum observantes, in aliis locis et ceteris horis, quancumque  
placuerit loqui possunt, inuicem instruētes et mutuo consolantes  
secundum quod dominus eis inspirauerit. Adeo autem monasteriorum  
suorum septa, clausis semper hostiis, diligenter obseruare student,  
quod non nisi magnis et autenticis personis et familiaribus ordinis 10  
facile patet ingressus. Nec ita claustrum suum et interiora habitationis  
sue exponunt hospitibus, sicut cyster-cienses et alii regulares.

Habent autem unum summum priorem, qui, licet nullam tempora-  
lium habeat amministrationem, tamen coram eo semel in anno laici  
omnes in generali capitulo et qui prope in eadem regione commorantur 15  
semel in mense uilicationis sue tenentur reddere rationem. Habet  
insuper potestatem mittere monachum unum cum laico ad totius  
ordinis monasteriorum uisitationem.

Licet enim monachis et uiris spiritualibus uideatur expedire tempora-  
lium amministrationem seu qualecumque dominium non habere, ut 20  
tanto tranquillius spiritualibus uacare ualeant quanto de temporalibus  
non cogitant, inimicus tamen humani generis et totius religionis  
callidus impugnator, tam sanctis et salutaribus inuidens institutis,  
hac occasione murmur ualde perniciosum, seditionem et scandalum  
aliquando suscitauit inter clericos et laicos monachos et conuersos 25  
predicti monasterii Grandismontis. Videbatur enim monachis, quod  
in omnibus preesse debuissent laicis non subesse, quemadmodum fit  
in aliis religiosis congregationibus, qui capitella non bases in summo  
culminis consueuerant ponere. Addebant insuper, quod eos laici

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2 ordinis *add.* prudenter *C* | pene omnibus *A* || 3 fecerunt *A Mo* || 4 quanta-  
cumque *ACD Mo*, quantumcumque *B* || 5 in<sup>1</sup> *om. A* || 6 quantumcumque  
*A* || 8 inspirauit *CD* || 9 diligenter *om. A* || 12 hospitalibus *Mo* | hospiti-  
bus *add.* suis *C* || 14 tantum *Mo* || 16 tenentur *om. A* | rationem reddere *A* ||  
17 monachum unum mittere *A* | cum laico *om. C* || 18 uisitationem] minis-  
trationem *A* || 19 enim] autem *ACD Mo* | uideantur *A* || 23 sanctis *add.*  
quam *Mo* | institutis inuidens *C* || 24 seditionem *om. CD* || 25 aliquando *om.*  
*A* | suscitauit aliquando *C* || 28 religionum *Mo* || 29 insuper *om. C*

contempnebant et eis dominari non solum in temporalibus sed plerumque in spiritualibus presumebant. Cum enim sacerdotes eorum proprium dei officium uellent regulariter celebrare, laici missas de beata Maria uel de spiritu sancto uel pro defunctis uolebant audire, et  
 5 secundum uarias eorum occupationes, quandoque citius, quandoque tardius, postulabant sibi diuina celebrari. Si autem sacerdotes renuerent, indignabantur eis laici et irascebantur contra monachos, murmurantes. Et quoniam ea quibus indigebant non nisi per laicorum manus recipiebant, monachis necessaria petentibus, surdis auribus  
 10 pretereuntes et dissimulantes laici, frequenter ipsos monachos molestabant.

E contra laici, monachos ingratitudine arguentes, asserebant, monachis in sua pace et contemplationis quiete commorantibus, se portare pondus dei et estus et temporalis amministrationis sollicitudine pregrauari, ut monachis quibus seruiebant necessaria non deessent. Et quoniam contra Martham Maria non legitur murmurasse, eis sufficere deberet quod possent, aliis exeuntibus, in claustro quiescere et lectionibus et orationibus uacare.

Tandem uero partibus ad audientiam summi pontificis uenientibus,  
 20 dominus papa post multas allegationes et uarias altercationes, pacem et concordiam inter partes reformauit, fratribus laicis precipiens quatinus monachos honorarent et in spiritualibus eis subiecti essent, de diuinis autem officiis nichil precipere aut ordinare aliqua presumptione attemptarent. Monachis autem iniunxit, ut fratres laicos diligenter,  
 25 uerbo et exemplo ipsos in spiritu lenitatis instruantes et

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4 uel<sup>2</sup>] aut *A* || 6 postulant *D* | celebrare *CD* || 6-7 renuerant *D* || 7 contra *om.* *CD* | monachis *CD* || 12 arguentes *om.* *A* | asserebant *add.* arguebant *A* || 13 et *om.* *CD* || 14 diei] dei *D* || 16 legitur *om.* *D*, legatur *Mo* | murmurasse legitur *C* || 18 uacare *om.* *C* || 19 uenientibus] aduocatis *AQS* || 20 altercationes *add.* et *Mo* || 22 eis *om.* *A* | eis in spiritualibus *CD Mo* || 24-25 diligenter *om.* *A*, diligenter *C*, diligent *D* || 25 exemplo *add.* diligenter eos *A* | ipsos *om.* *A*

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13-14 cfr Mt 20,12 || 25 cfr Gal 6,1

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20 The pope is undoubtedly Clement III. The first uprising of the *conversi* occurred between 1185-1188, the second between 1214-1220. Cath, V, 192-93. J. Becquet, La première crise de l'ordre de Grandmont, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 87 (1960), 283-324.



misericorditer eorum defectus supportantes. Nec eis temporalium procuracionem et amministrationem inuiderent, sed sine querela et murmure eis exteriorum curam relinquentes, ipsi spiritualibus intenderent et diuinis uacarent officiis.

## CAPITULUM XX

DE MONACHIS THIRONENSIBUS  
ET MONACHIS NIGRIS

Sunt preterea in regno Francie circa partes carnotenses monachi quidam, quos appellant de Thirono. Hii a consortio nigrorum monachorum, mutato habitu nigro in grisio, recedentes, seorsum habitare 10 ceperunt, primas monachorum nigrorum obseruantias, quas per negligentiam et dissolutionem hii, a quibus recesserunt, ex magna parte reliquerant, in se reformare cupientes.

Qui enim diligenter et districte primas nigrorum monachorum institutiones obseruare studeret, nichil prorsus addere oporteret. 15 Nulla enim alia religio tot sanctos uiros habuit, nec tanto tempore in sanctitate et rigore discipline permansit, multosque ex se prelatos in uniuerso mundo genuit, qui preeminens conuersationis exemplo et sancte predicationis uerbo multas animas abstulerunt diabolo et uarias illustrauerunt regiones. Quam diu siquidem gratam deo et 20 religioni amicam habuerunt et dilexerunt paupertatem absque pondere sollicitudinis et ambitionis inquietudine, humiliter et deuote domino seruierunt, non solum a mane usque ad uesperam sed frequenter a prima noctis parte usque ad auroram cibum qui non perit operantes,

9 Tyrono *C*, Tirono *D* || 10 griseum *Mo* || 11 nigrorum monachorum *Mo* || 12 hii *om. CD* || 13 incipientes *A* || 16 uiros sanctos *C* || 17 in *om. A* || 18 preeminentes *ACD* || 20 siquidem *om. A*, enim *CD* || 23 uesperas *C*

24 cfr Jo 6, 27

Chapter 20. The Abbey of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1114 at Thiron-Gardais (Eure-et-Loire) by Bishop Ivo and Saint Bernard of Thiron. It was suppressed in 1790. See Appendix C: Thiron and Saint Bernard of Thiron, p. 297.

ieiuniis et uigiliis corpora sua castigantes, sine intermissione orantes, in hymnis et psalmis et laudibus diuinis perseuerantes, lectionibus et sanctarum scripturarum meditationibus insistentes, in cilicio et cynere et cordis compuncti contritione non solum sua sed totius mundi  
 5 peccata lugentes, hospitalitatem sectantes, caritatem fraternitatis inuicem diligentes, necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes, gaudentes cum gaudentibus, flentes cum flentibus, non alta sapientes sed humilibus consentientes, spiritu feruentes, spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes, nulli malum pro malo reddentes, nemini adulantes,  
 10 deo placentes. Adeo autem fama sanctitatis et odor sancte conuersationis eorum non solum mediocres et pauperes sed reges et summos principes allexerat, quod, relictis diuitiis et amplis patrimoniis, suscepto religionis habitu nigro, post odorem unguentorum suauiter redolentium currere festinabant.

⟨DE DIUITIIS MONACHORUM NIGRORUM⟩

15 Beatos autem se estimabant, a quibus elemosinas uellent recipere. Ex quo factum est quod supra modum ditati sunt, et immensis possessionibus dilatati, presertim cum temporibus illis alia monasteria seu regulares conuentus nondum essent, et ita qui primi acceperunt plus omnibus aliis regularibus habundauerunt. Postquam autem  
 20 uenenum diuitiarum infusum est, agris et uineis, decimis et aliis redditibus, uillis et oppidis et innumeris possessionibus impinguati, incrassati, dilatati, pro parte maiori recalcitrare ceperunt. Pregrauati crapula et ebrietate et curis huius seculi, «commixti sunt inter gentes et didicerunt opera eorum», «initiati sunt beelphegor et comederunt  
 25 sacrificia mortuorum». «Obscuratam est aurum, mutatus est color optimus, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii in capite omnium platearum»,

3 sacrarum *Mo* || 3-4 cinere et cilicio *A* || 4 contriti compunctione *CDGT WJRK* *Mo* || 9 neminem *C* || 11 sed *add.* et *AC* || 12 amplis *add.* possessionibus et *A* || 15 uellent elemosinas *A* | accipere *A* || 19 aliis omnibus *A* || 20 uineis *add.* et *A* || 23 seculi *add.* et *AB*

2 cfr Eph 5, 19, Col 3, 16 || 3-4 cfr Mt 11, 21, Lc 10, 13 || 4 cfr Act 2, 37, Ps 108, 17 || 5-9 cfr Rom 12, 10-17 || 10 cfr 1 Thess 2, 4 || 10-11 cfr Tb 14, 17 || 13-14 cfr Cant 1, 3 || 21-22 cfr Deut 32, 15 || 22-23 cfr Lc 21, 34 || 23-24 Ps 105, 35 || 24-25 Ps 105, 28 || 25-26 Thren 4, 1

et qui nutriti sunt in croceis amplexati sunt stercora. Vocauit eos dominus ad fletum et ad planctum et ad caluitium et cingulum sacci, et ecce gaudium et letitia, occidere uitulos, iugulare arietes, comedere carnes et bibere uinum. Et idcirco facti sunt hodie contemptibiles deo et hominibus odibiles, et facta sunt bona eorum in rapinam et direptionem, dum principes et potentes non minus proni sunt ad auferendum quam quondam fuerunt ad largiendum. Sic igitur a principio religionem paupertas procreauit, religio diuitias generauit, diuitie induxerunt dissolutionem et destruxerunt religionem, religio destructa reduxit ad paupertatem non uoluntariam sed coactam, et ita caput reuersum est ad caudam. 5 10

⟨DE UITA BONA ALIORUM MONACHORUM NIGRORUM⟩

Aliqui tamen ex ipsis, tamquam uellus complutum in area sicca, tamquam margarite inter stercora, tamquam granum inter paleas et «lilium inter spinas», quasi Loth in Sodomis et Iob in terra Hus, quasi torris erutus ex igne et uinee botrus ex tempestate, quanto domum suam, dum ceciderunt lateres, quadris lapidibus firmius edificauerunt, tanto magis probati et quasi aurum in fornace examinati domino placuerunt. Hec autem predicta diximus, salua pace et reuerentia quorundam huius ordinis sanctorum et uenerabilium conuentuum, qui adhuc in honestatis et laudabilis conuersationis proposito et religionis districtione perseuerant. 15 20

Cuiusmodi sunt cluniacenses in capite et in quibusdam eorum membris a capite non discrepantibus, sicut apud sanctum Martinum

1 eos *om. ACD Mo* || 4 sunt *ACD Mo, om. B* || 7 fuerint *Mo* | igitur *om. A* || 9 dissolutionem et destruxerunt *om. JR Mo* | religionem *om. C* || 13 inter stercora] in sterquilinio *A* || 14 quasi] tamquam *A* | sodomitis *Mo* || 16-17 edificauerunt firmius *A* || 19 quorundam *om. D<sup>1</sup>, add. D<sup>2</sup>* || 22 eiusmodi *Mo* | sunt *om. C* | quibusdam *CD Mo*, quibus *AB* || 23 a *om. A* | sanctum *om. D*

1 cfr Thren 4, 5 || 1-4 cfr Is 22, 12 || 12 cfr Jdc 6, 37 || 14 Cant 2, 2 || 15 cfr Zach 3, 2 | cfr Cant 7, 8 || 16-17 cfr Is 9, 10 || 17 cfr Sap 3, 6

23 Saint-Martin-des-Champs, possibly founded in the sixth century, was one of the outstanding Cluniac priories. See Appendix C: Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris, p. 292.

de Campis in parisiensi ciuitate, et preterea monachi religiosi cantuarienses in Anglia, et illi qui sunt de Affleghem in Brabantia, et sanctimoniales nigre de Fonteuraut, cum quibusdam aliis deo deuotis monachorum nigrorum conuentibus, quorum caritatem et humilitatem,  
 5 labores assiduos et honera pene importabilia nouit ille qui eis patientiam et perseuerantiam subministrat, ut aliis in uia deficientibus ipsi, ad destinatum sibi brauium festinantes, finem consequantur optatum.

## CAPITULUM XXI

DE REGULARIBUS CANONICIS  
 SUB SANCTI AUGUSTINI REGULA UIUENTIBUS

Illi autem qui canonici regulares dicuntur, beati Augustini regulam pro fundamento religionis habentes, media et regia uia incedentes, secundum primas regularium institutionum obseruantias camisiis et

2 Afflihem *A*, Auflengen *D*, Afflenghien *C*, Afflengien *Mo* || 3 Fontenbrant *A* || 4 nigrorum monachorum *A* || 6 ipsi ] Christi *CD* || 7 festinantes ] destinantes *A* || 11 dicuntur regulares *C* || 12 habentes religionis *A*

7 cfr Phil 3, 14

1-2 There were three communities of Benedictines at Canterbury: Saint Augustine, Christ Church, and Holy Sepulchre. See Appendix C: Benedictines, Canterbury, p. 259. || 2 The Cluniac abbey of Affligem was founded about 1075-1080. Suppressed in 1796, the community revived at Termonde in 1838 and in 1870 returned to Affligem. See Appendix C: Affligem, p. 255. || 3 The abbey of Fontevrault was founded about 1101 by Robert d'Arbrissel. It was suppressed in 1790, but in 1824 the female branch was successfully revived. See Appendix C: Fontevrault and Robert d'Arbrissel, p. 270. || Chapters 21 to 32 inclusive. With the conclusion of the author's treatment of the monastic orders strictly so-called, it is well to call attention here to the new understanding of the *vita apostolica* which arose in the high Middle Age and which emphasized the notion of apostolate rather than the interior life of the primitive Christian communities, such as traditional monastic foundations had come to do. See Chenu, pp. 227-28, 234, 256. See Appendix C: Apostolic Life, p. 258. || 9 Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad canonicos regulares*. See Pitra, p. 387. || 12 cfr U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, Louvain-Bruxelles, 1892-1920, n° 10960, *Magne doctor Augustine*.

femoralibus, superpellitiis et pellibus, culcitris et lintheaminibus utuntur. Camisias et femoralia de nocte non deponunt. Post matutinas ad cubacula reuertentes causa recreationis dormiunt. Nouem lectionum numerum in nocturno officio non excedunt. Tribus diebus in ebdomada carnes edunt. Pisces, oua et caseum in refectorio diebus aliis manducant. Ipsis autem prandentibus, unus eorum diuinarum scripturarum recitat lectiones. 5

Sub unius abbatis uel prioris obedientia continenter uiuunt, proprium autem eis habere non licet. Animarum curas licitum est eis suscipere et ecclesias parochiales regere. Alias preterea habent canonicas institutiones et regularia decreta, que, si diligenter et cum timore obseruare et adimplere studuerint, manna absconditum et thesauros indeficientes et premium sempiternum «in splendoribus sanctorum», gloria et honore coronati, possidebunt. 10

Ve igitur illis, qui, murmurantes, queruli, loquaces et garruli, mendaces et detractores inter fratres discordiam seminantes, ignaui, otiosi et desides secundum desideria sua ambulantes, inflati et inanes, inuidi, contentiosi et impatientes, auari et ambitiosi, incompositi et imprudentes, gule et renibus frena laxantes, maioribus suis inobedientes et primum uotum irritum facientes, tam sanctum ordinem quasi contemptibilem reddiderunt, multos scandalizantes, et tanto laicis turpiores quanto in operibus sanctitatis, prout altitudo gradus et ordo professionis exigit, debuerunt esse priores. De quibus scriptum est: «Meretrices et publicani precedent uos in regnum celorum.» Ipsi enim, tamquam sepulchra foris dealbata, intus autem pleni immunditiis et ossibus mortuorum et putredine cadauerum, adeo fetentes in naribus bonorum uirorum secum cohabitantium effecti sunt, quod multi, cum 25

1 culcitis *Mo* || 2 de *om. A* | noctibus *A* | deponunt *ACD Mo*, ponunt *B* | non deponunt de nocte *C* || 3 lectionum *AD*, lectionem *BC* || 4 in<sup>1</sup> ] de *C* || 5 aliis diebus *A* || 6 diuinarum ] uiuarum *D* | diuinarum scripturarum unus eorum *A* || 9 habere eis *A* | non licet habere *C* || 10 preterea alias *A* || 11 et<sup>2</sup> *om. A* | timore *add. diuino CD Mo* || 11–12 diligenter obseruare et adimplere cum timore studuerint *A* || 12 studuerunt *D* || 14 coronati *om. CD* || 16 et *om. A* || 17 et<sup>1</sup> *om. A* | et<sup>2</sup> *om. ACD* || 18 et<sup>2</sup>, et<sup>3</sup> *om. A* || 19 suis *om. CD* || 24 celorum ] dei *A Vulg.* || 26 fetentes *A Mo*, ferentes *B*, fetantes *CD*

12 cfr Ap 2, 17 || 12–13 cfr Lc 12, 33 || 13 Ps 109, 3 || 14 cfr Ps 8, 6 || 15 cfr Juda 16 || 16 cfr Prov 6, 19 || 17 cfr Juda 16 || 20 cfr 1 Tim 5, 12 || 24 cfr Mt 21, 31 || 25–26 cfr Mt 23, 27

iam amplius sustinere non possent, ab eis discesserunt, ad aliam religionem, mutato habitu, fugientes.

Quidam autem in eodem habitu et sub eadem regula permanentes, predictis uelut foliis defluentibus, fortiter perstiterunt, ad obseruantiam  
 5 regule sancte et reformationem regularium institutionum tam in se quam in aliis tota uirtute laborantes et totis desideriis anhelantes. Conuentus siquidem canonicorum regularium sancti Iohannis in uineis suessionensis et sancti Oberti cameracensis et sancte Marie  
 10 pauci racemi consumpta uindemia, in uirtute religionis, feruore castitatis et decore honestatis permanserunt. Ascendentes de uirtute in uirtutem, et odore bone uite et sancte conuersationis multos allicientes de mundi naufragio ad congregationem suam, tamquam ad securum tranquillitatis portum, traxerunt.

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1 amplius *om. Mo* | possunt *D* || 2-3 fugientes ... habitu *ACD Mo, om. B* || 3 autem ] uero *A* || 4 ad ] et *CD* || 6 laborantes *ACD Mo, om. B* || 7 siquidem *CD Mo*, quidem *AB* || 9 Oignies *CD*, Oignes *B*, Olignes *A*, Oegnies *Mo* || 10 religionis *add. et CD Mo* || 10-11 castitatis] caritatis *CD Mo*

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7-8 Saint-Jean-des-Vignes was founded in 1076. See Appendix C: Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons, p. 292. || 8 The monastery of Saint Aubert, of ancient origin, adopted the Rule of Saint Augustine in 1066. See Appendix C: Saint Aubert, Cambrai, p. 291. || 8-9 Notre Dame du Bourg-moyen was founded in 996 and adopted the Augustinian Rule in 1123. See Appendix C: Notre Dame, Blois, p. 287. || 9 Saint Nicholas at Oignies was founded in the last decade of the twelfth century and suppressed in 1796. See Appendix C: Saint Nicholas, Oignies, p. 293.

## CAPITULUM XXII

### DE CANONICIS PREMONSTRATENSIS ORDINIS

Quidam uero uir iustus et timoratus, uerus dei cultor et permanens in innocentia sua, dictus Norbertus, cum predicatione sua uelut celestis 5 fistula et tuba argentea multos docuisset, et, ad dominum conuertens, ad frugem melioris uite diuinitus inspiratos incitasset, tandem in loco qui Premonstratum dicitur, ad opus sui et discipulorum suorum pacificum instituit habitaculum. Sumpto autem regulari habitu, ut secundum regulam beati Augustini domino militaret, consuetum uiuendi modum, quem predicti regulares canonici usque ad tempora 10 illa laxius obseruauerant, in se et in discipulis suis coarctauit, quasdam nouas institutiones addendo, quasdam etiam ueteres immutando.

Carnes siquidem premonstratensis ordinis canonici et fratres laici numquam nisi in infirmitate manducant. A festo sancte crucis usque ad pascha ieiunant; duobus pulmentis more cysterciensium in refectorio 15 uescuntur. Camisiis non induuntur; pellibus ouinis utuntur. Vestiti tunicis albis et caligis calciati, dormiunt. Capis laneis albis absque tinctura aliqua uestiuntur. Diebus festis more aliorum canonicorum nouem lectiones, aliis autem tres tantum, in matutinis legunt. Post officium nocturnum ad dormitorium reuertuntur, ut dormiant et 20 quiescant. Temporibus determinatis et horis certis ad labores manuum egrediuntur. Parochiales ecclesias et animarum secularium curas in propriis personis suscipiunt.

Omnia huius institutionis et religionis monasteria sub uno capite premonstratensis monasterii continentur, ad quod annis singulis ad 25

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4 sua *om.* *A* | innocentia *add.* cordis sui *A* | Robertus *CD* || 4-5 fistula celestis *A* || 5 multos *om.* *CD* || 8 constituit *CD Mo* || 12 immutando] non mutando *C* || 14 numquam *ACD Mo*, nusquam *B* || 16 induuntur] utuntur *A* | utuntur] induuntur *A* || 19 autem *om.* *CD*

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5 cfr Num 10, 2 || 9 cfr 2 Tim 2, 4 || 20-21 cfr Ps 4, 9

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21 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 3. CSEL, LVII, p. 361. PL, XXXIII, 960, 7.

generale capitulum omnes huius ordinis abbates congregantur. Habent autem curias et prioratus non solum hominum sed et feminarum, in quibus tam clerici quam laici, secundum quod eis a superioribus suis iniungitur, commorantur.

- 5 A principio autem ordinis et nouelle plantationis, cum adhuc pretioso paupertatis thesauro habundarent, quasi musto noue religionis inebriati, et feruentes igne illo quem misit dominus in terra ut arderet, adeo succensi sunt, quod non solum uicinas regiones sed remotas per uniuersum fere mundum prouincias accendebant, illuminabant, et  
10 exemplo conuersationis sue prouocabant. Vnde paruo tempore multa ubique huius ordinis et professionis tam clericorum quam sanctimonialium constructa sunt monasteria, largitione principum et elemosinis fidelium copiosis redditibus et latis possessionibus in immensum ampliata et sufficienter ditata.

⟨DE MONIALIBUS PREMONSTRATENSIBUS⟩

- 15 Castis siquidem matronis et uiduis sanctis et deo deuotis uirginibus, uelut lapidibus pretiosis ad ornatum et pulchritudinem tam sancte et honeste religionis conuenientibus, quasi ex duobus uirorum et mulierum parietibus uno angulari lapide coniunctis, iocundum deo constructum est habitaculum, et, quasi alterius arche edificium uno cubito con-  
20 summatum, in quo immitia animalia et bestiales sensualitatis motus, ieiuniis, uigiliis, orationibus et aliis uariis disciplinis tanta distictione domabantur, quod, refrenato tumultu, pacem habentes arche rectores, non multum infestabant. Quod si aliquando contra ipsos indisciplinate insurgerent, capitibus eorum allisis ad petram in matutino, id est,  
25 in principio suggestionis diabولية, interficiebantur omnes peccatores terre.

- Moniales siquidem adeo incluse infra septa monasterii tenebantur, quod ad eas nullus hominum patebat ingressus. Et quoniam in choro et ecclesia non cantabant sed tantum in silentio orationi uacabant,  
30 psalteria sua legentes, et horas canonicas uel beate uirginis secreto cum

9 fere *om. A* | prouincias *om. A* || 10 sue conuersationis *A* || 16 ornamentum *A* || 17 duorum *A* || 19 est *om. CD* | uno *om. Mo* || 19–20 consummatum *add. est B* || 22 rectores *A Mo*, refactores *B* || 24 petram] terram *A* || 28 hominis *A* || 30 legentes] canentes *CD* | uirginis *add. Marie D Mo* | secreto *add. et CD*

7 cfr Lc 12, 49 || 19–20 cfr Gen 6, 16 || 24 cfr Ps 136, 9



omni humilitate et deuotione dicentes. Commorabantur seorsum eiusdem ordinis sacerdotes et clerici, uiri probati et religiosi, qui, eis in diuinis officiis seruientes, confessiones earum per fenestras audiebant, et eas certis temporibus diuinarum scripturarum libris instruere et informare studebant.

5

Postquam uero fenestras in hostia conuerterunt, et, primo feruore tepescente, improuida securitas torporem et negligentiam inducere cepit, dormiente hostiaria in feruore diei, Ysboseth percussus est in inguine. Et dum arche sentinam perforauit inimicus, aquis a parte inferiori subintrantibus, multi utriusque sexus in limo profundi submersi perierunt. Experimento tandem cognoscentes illam beati Iheronimi sententiam: «Si cum uiris femine habitent, uiscarium non deerit diaboli». Germinant femine cum uiris habitantes spinas et archa mentium acuto mucrone percutiunt. Nec possunt toto corde habitare cum domino, qui feminarum accessibus copulantur, quemadmodum 15 Salomon ait: «Numquid abscondere potest homo ignem in sinu suo, ut uestimenta sua non ardeant, aut ambulare super prunas, ut non comburantur plante eius? Sic qui ingreditur ad mulierem proximi sui, non erit mundus cum tetigerit eam.» Prudenter igitur, licet sero, in generali capitulo premonstratenses unanimiter firmauerunt, quod 20 feminas de cetero in ordine suo non essent recepturi.

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1 omni *ACD Mo*, om. *B* || 4 temporibus *add.* uerbis *CD Mo* | libris om. *CD Mo* || 6 primo *CD Mo*, post *AB* || 10 profundi om. *JR Mo* || 10–11 submersi *CDJRGTWKO Mo*, om. *ABQSHL* || 13 germinatio *D* || 14 percutiuntur *D* || 17 sua ] eius *A*, illius *CD Mo Vulg.* | ardeantur *A* || 20 premonstratensi *CD*

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8–9 cfr 2 Rg 4, 5–6 || 10–11 cfr Ps 68, 3 || 16–19 cfr Prov 6, 27–29

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12–13 The citation is not from Saint Jerome but from one of the letters of Lambert, Abbot of Saint Ruf. See Martène, Thesaurus, I, 332. || 12 Du Cange equates *viscarium* with *viscus*, *-eris*. He cites the quotation given by Jacques de Vitry and one other to illustrate its usage. In connection with the word one can also consider: *visco*, *-are*: *visco implicare*, and *viscarius*, *-i*: *qui visco aves captat*. || 19–21 A complete separation between the canons and the nuns was decreed by the general chapter about 1137. A privilege of Innocent III in 1198 gave the Order permission not to receive any more female candidates. This policy was reiterated in the chapter of 1270, which also decreed that the remaining nuns were to enter other orders, thus ending the problem. For an earlier reference by Jacques de Vitry, see above, p. 117, 4–7. See Roisin, *L'hagiographie*, p. 350. See Appendix C: Premonstratensian Nuns, p. 289.

CAPITULUM XXIII

DE CANONICIS ARROASIE

Sunt alii regulares canonici qui de Arroasia nuncupantur, eo quod  
 prima huius institutionis abbatia, que caput est omnium aliarum,  
 5 sic uocetur, in dyocesi attrebatensi sita. Hii siquidem, fundamentum  
 regule beati Augustini retinentes ut carnem suam cum uitiiis et concu-  
 piscentiis artius crucifigerent, carnes a refectorio suo subtraxerunt.  
 Camisiis insuper non utuntur, sed cum tunicis laneis nocte in dormi-  
 torio suo quiescunt. Quasdam etiam alias institutiones necessarias  
 10 et honestas, supra predictum fundamentum prudenter edificantes,  
 contra imminencia pericula sibi precauentes, addiderunt.

Et quoniam nichil magis uirtutem religionis conseruat ubi plures  
 sunt congregationes et conuentus quam respectus ad unum superiorem,  
 qui diuersa sub se membra regit et continet quasi summum et supre-  
 15 mum caput, semel in anno sub primo et principali abbate generale  
 concilium celebraturi conueniunt, ut omnes unanimiter huius ordinis  
 abbates, secundum quod religioni uiderint expedire, corrigant corri-  
 genda, resecent superflua, instituant et addant que fuerint superad-  
 denda, uel, secundum temporum aut rerum mutationem, que fuerint  
 20 commutanda commutent, et nouis superuenientibus ita uetera reiti-  
 antur quod uestustissima ueterum, prima scilicet antiquorum patrum  
 instituta firmiter et inuariabiliter obseruentur. Principalis siquidem  
 abbas filias suas, inferiores scilicet abbatias, per se uel per uiros

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2 canonicis *add.* de *C* || 3 Arroasia *A* || 12 et] quia *CD* || 13 sunt *om.*  
*A* || 16 celebraturi *CD Mo*, celebratur *AB* | huius ordinis unanimiter *A* ||  
 18-19 superaddenda.] addenda *A* || 19 rerum mutationem aut temporum *A* ||  
 20 ita *om. A*

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6-7 cfr Gal 5, 24

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Chapter 23. The Abbey of Saint Nicholas was founded about 1090 and before 1150 had become the center of the Congregation of Arrouaise. The last general chapter was held in 1470, but the abbey itself persisted until 1790. See Appendix C: Arrouaise, p. 258.

ydoneos studiose uisitando, quantum religioni subministret fulcimentum, ne per negligentiam defluat uel per dissolutionem status religionis eneruatus corruat. Ex hiis liquet conuentibus et congregationibus que, ex uno tantum abbate pendentes et uni soli superiori intendentes, cum corridente plerumque corruunt, cum non habeant 5 unde alias fulciantur. Ve siquidem soli, quia si ceciderit, non habet subleuantem. Funiculus autem multiplex non facile rumpitur. Frater enim fratrem adiuuans est quasi ciuitas munita.

Si autem corrupto capite ad prelatos seculares membra recurrerint, sillam fugientes caribdin frequenter incurrerunt, et fugientes arma 10 ferrea in arcum ereum inciderunt. Quidam enim ecclesiarum prelati regularium dissensionibus tanto magis exultant quanto, uelut in aqua turbata copiosorem reperientes piscationem, ab altera uel ab utraque parte hac occasione pecuniam emungere non formidant. Quod si forte iustos et timoratos inuenerint prelatos qui, ab omni munere manus 15 excutientes, eorum partes intercedente pecunia fouere renuerint, tandem, facta ad dominum papam appellatione, discurrendi et euagandi materiam libenter inueniunt, et, inutilibus expensis ex utraque parte miserabilem domum eorum obligantes, redditus copiosos et amplas plerumque consumunt possessiones. 20

## CAPITULUM XXIII

## DE CANONICIS SANCTI VICTORIS

Sunt alie canonicorum regularium deuote et humiles et amabiles deo congregationes qui sancti Victoris canonici nominantur, eo quod predictus dei martyr patronus et aduocatus sit eorum, in quibus 25

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4 quem *A* || 6 alias *CD Mo*, om. *AB* || 10 fugientes<sup>1</sup> ] fugiendo *A* | frequenter caribdin *ACD Mo* || 11 enim *CD Mo*, om. *AB* || 13 ab<sup>2</sup> om. *CD Mo* || 17 ad dominum papam facta *A* || 20 plerumque ] inutiliter *AQS* || 19-20 amplas possessiones inutiliter consumunt *A* || 23 alii *Mo* || 25 predictus ] idem *A* | sit ] fit *CD*

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6-7 cfr *Eccle* 4, 10 || 7 cfr *Eccle* 4, 12 || 7-8 cfr *Prov* 18, 19 || 10-11 cfr *Jb* 20, 24 || 15-16 cfr *Is* 33, 15

- huius ordinis primordia claruerunt. Primus siquidem et precipuus huius sancte religionis conuentus extra muros parisiensis ciuitatis in ecclesia que dicitur sancti Victoris, quasi lucerna domini supra candelabrum posita, non solum propinquam ciuitatem sed remotas circumquaque regiones et ad dei cognitionem illuminat et ad caritatem dei inflamat, tamquam piscina probatica et luter eneus in templo domini scholaribus Parisius commorantibus et uariis populis undique confluentibus aquas purificationis subministrans. Hec siquidem sancta et omni acceptione digna militantium in castris domini congregatio refugium est pauperum, consolatio lugentium, fulcimentum et quasi basis debilium, recreatio lassorum, releuatio lapsorum, portus tranquillissimus scholarum quibus de huius mundi naufragio euadere cupientibus sinum misericordie aperit et in gremio suo uelut pia mater eos fouet et enutrit.
- 15 Multis a principio parisiensibus magistris, uiris litteratis et honestis, uelut stellis fulgentibus illustrata et quasi margaritis pretiosis decorata, inter quos nominatissimus et precipuus exstitit cytharista domini, organum spiritus sancti, magister Hugo de sancto Victore dictus, qui, malogranata tintinnabulis coniungens, exemplo sancte conuersationis multos ad honestatem incitauit et melliflua doctrina eos ad scientiam erudiuit. Multos autem aquarum uiuentium puteos effodiens, libris suis, quos de fide et moribus tam subtiliter quam suauiter disserendo edidit, incerta et occulta diuine sapientie pluribus aperuit, immortalem sui memoriam uelut compositionem odoris et opus pigmentarii et in omni ore quasi mel dulcoratum, uelut musicam in conuiuio uini et tamquam naues poma ferentes posteris relinquendo.

Hii siquidem prudentes et honesti uiri, extra parisiensis urbis tumultum seorsum congregati, supra firmum et stabile fundamentum regule sancti Augustini institutiones honestas et salutare obseruantias

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3-4 candelabrum] modium *A* || 6 dei *om.* *CD Mo* | templo] domo *CD* || 7 undique *om.* *C* || 12 mundi huius *CD Mo* || 13 suo *CD Mo, om.* *AB* || 14 nutrit *D* || 17 precipuus et nominatissimus *A* || 20 eos *om.* *CD Mo* || 21 fodiens *A* || 22 moribus] operibus *CD* | subtiliter] salubriter *A* || 23 mortalem *Mo* || 25 omnium *Mo* | uini *om.* *C*, uirii *D* || 28 congregati seorsum *A*

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3-4 cfr Mt 5, 15 || 6 cfr Jo 5, 2 || 6-7 cfr 3 Rg 7, 26-43, 4 Rg 16, 17 || 19 cfr Ex 39, 23 || 21 cfr Jo 4, 10-15 || 23 cfr Ps 50, 8 || 24-25 cfr Eccli 49, 1-2 || 26 cfr Jb 9, 26

statuerunt. Nigris siquidem capis et tunicis albis laneis induti, pellibus agninis et lineis utuntur camisiis. Carnes in refectorio non manducant. Certis temporibus et horis institutis infra terminos suos manibus suis corporaliter laborant. Circa primam uel secundam noctis horam ad matutinas surgentes, in hymnis et psalmis et canticis spiritualibus 5 domino suauiter et deuote iubilando, residuum noctis plerumque expendunt. Estatic autem tempore a uespera usque ad auroram nocturnum frequenter protrahunt officium. Semel autem in anno omnes huius ordinis abbates Parisius apud sancti Victoris ecclesiam generale capitulum celebraturi congregantur, post diuine predicationis 10 epulas delicatas et suaues de hiis que ad religionem et ordinis instituta pertinent unanimiter pertractantes.

## CAPITULUM XXV

## DE FRATRIBUS ORDINIS SANCTE TRINITATIS

Est alia regularium fratrum et clericorum et laicorum sancta et deo 15 accepta congregatio in omni loco habitationis sue sub titulo sancte trinitatis domino militantium, unde et fratres trinitatis appellantur, uno summo huius ordinis priori obedientia constricti et humiliter subiecti. Habent autem in diuersis regionibus priores minores et congregationes particulares, caput autem ordinis in ecclesia sancte 20 trinitatis marsiliensis prefecerunt.

Hii siquidem uiri, sancti artam religionis uiam ingressi, carnibus non uescuntur exceptis diebus dominicis et quinque magnis sollempnitatibus. Vinum uero secundum ordinis instituta licet eis bibere,

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1 siquidem *HLJRW Mo*, quidem *ABCDQSGTKOP* || 3 constitutis *CD Mo* || 6 deo *C* || 8 officium ] *textus capituli desinit CGTW* || 9 omnes *om. A* || 15 fratrum regularium *A* | et<sup>1</sup> *om. CD Mo* | et laicorum *om. D<sup>1</sup>, add. D<sup>2</sup>* || 17 fratres *add. sanctae Mo* || 18 priori *add. per obedientiam Mo* || 22 uitam *A* || 23 dominicis diebus *A* || 24 uinum *AD Mo*, uitium *B*, uinim *C*

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3 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 3. CSEL, LVII, p. 361. PL, XXXIII, 960, 7.

- emere autem non licet. Camisiis non utuntur neque lintheaminibus aut plumis. Humilitatis Christi formam expressius imitantes, aut pedibus ambulant aut super asinos equitantes incedunt; aliis autem animalibus ad opus equitandi non utuntur. Albis autem et laneis tunicis diebus  
 5 et noctibus induti, capis albis exterius crucem bipartitam ex rubeo et nigro in medio pectoris affigunt. Et quoniam ad comparationem pietatis exercitatio corporis ad modicum ualet, adeo misericordie operibus affluunt, quod de omnibus bonis suis semper in honorem sancte trinitatis tres partes faciunt: unam partem ad redemptionem captiuorum  
 10 qui in uinculis sarracenorum detinentur; aliam ad sustentationem pauperum infirmorum quos in domibus suis misericorditer recipiunt, eis in propriis personis humiliter ministrantes; tertiam partem ad usus suos reseruant, ut sobriam et pauperem uitam utcumque ualeant sustentare.
- 15 In hac igitur amplitudine caritatis et affluentia pietatis uelut speculum facti sunt multis regularibus auaris et imitationis exemplum meticulous fratribus et filiis diffidentie qui, semper in anxietate et sollicitudine de crastino cogitantes, curis huius saeculi pregrauantur, dicentes in cordibus suis: «Quid manducabimus aut quid bibemus aut  
 20 quo operiemur? Modice fidei quare dubitasti? Quis uidit iustum derelictum aut semen eius querens panem? Qui seipsum tibi tradidit, necessaria tibi negabit? Qui uolucres celi pascit et lilia agri candidis induit uestimentis, dominus scilicet qui sollicitus est tui, si primum regnum eius et iustitiam quesieris, hec omnia non adiciet tibi?»
- 25 Quoniam igitur huiusmodi pusillanimes et falsi nominis religiosi circa fidem languentes et de diuinis promissionibus hesitantes, seipsos domino committere formidant. Illic trepidantes timore ubi timor non est, semper manus suas habent porrectas ad accipiendum, collectas

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1-2 camisiis ... plumis *om.* *CDGTW* || 6 compositionem *C* || 7 exercitio *C* || 11 suscipiunt *A* || 12 eis *om.* *Mo* || 13 utrumque *CD* || 21 delictum *C* || 22 tibi *om.* *A* | agri *add.* uestit *C* || 23 induit *om.* *C* || 24 quesieris et iustitiam *C* || 27 committere domino *C* || 27-28 non est timor *A* || 28 suas *om.* *CD Mo* | porrectas *om.* *D* | suscipiendum *A* | ad accipiendum porrectas *C*

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6-7 cfr 1 Tim 4, 8 || 17 cfr Eph 5, 6; 2, 2 || 18 cfr Lc 21, 34 || 19-20 Mt 6, 31 || 20 Mt 14, 31 || 20-21 cfr Ps 36, 25 || 21 cfr Gal 2, 20 || 22-23 cfr Mt 6, 26-29 || 23 cfr Ps 39, 18 || 23-24 cfr Mt 6, 33 || 27-28 cfr Ps 13, 5; 52, 7 || 28-p. 141, 1 cfr Eccli 4, 36

autem et aduncas ad retinendum sibimetipsis. Ieiunantes, facies suas macie exterminantes, crumenas autem impinguentes, annis singulis quecumque possunt reseruant, ut nouas emant possessiones, de pauperibus autem non curant. Exercitationes siquidem corporum sibi ad salutem sufficere credentes, pietatem que ualet ad omnia a se et a domibus suis alienantes, proiecerunt et prorsus exulare coegerunt.

## CAPITULUM XXVI

## DE FRATRIBUS QUI DICUNTUR DE SPATA

Sunt alii regulares fratres in Hispanie partibus commorantes qui de spata nominantur, professione et uoto sollempni astricti ad conseruandam Christi ecclesiam contra sarracenos, a finibus fidelium infideles pro posse suo longius propellendo. Multi autem uiri nobiles exercitati in preliis et in armis strenui sathane et pompis eius renunciantes et seculo blandienti ualedicentes, assumpto regulari habitu predictorum fratrum, sancte congregationi incorporati sunt, et uoti salutaris astrictione coniuncti, gemini holocausti hostiam ad perfectionis cumulum domino offerentes, dum, spirituali martyrio seipsos abnegantes, sub unius maioris obedientia regulari uiuunt, et nichilominus corporale martyrium pro Christo semper recipere parati sunt.

1 et *om.* *D* | aduncas ] ad micas *G* || 1-2 ieiunantes crumenas autem impinguentes facies ... exterminantes *Mo* || 4 siquidem ] autem *CD* || 5 salutem *add.* sibi *D* | credentes *om.* *Mo* || 9-10 fratres qui de spata nominantur in Hispanie partibus commorantes *A* || 10-11 conseruandam *ACD*, conseruandum *B* *Mo* || 12 procellendo *D* || 13 strenui *add.* et *C* | eius *om.* *C* | et<sup>3</sup> *om.* *Mo* || 16 geminam *CD* *Mo* || 18 regulariter *ACD*

1-2 cfr Mt 6, 16 || 5 cfr 1 Tim 4, 8

Chapter 26. The Order of Santiago, or Saint James of the Sword (*Spata, Espada*), was founded in 1170 by Pedro Fernández and was approved by Alexander III in 1175. In 1493 the Crown assumed control, and after 1523 the grand mastership was always held by the king. The Order was suppressed in 1835. See Appendix C: Santiago, Order of, p. 294. || 13 cfr *Rituale Romanum*, Ordo baptismi.

Regulam autem sancti Augustini in omnibus pene observant, in communi uiuentes, proprium non habentes. Carnes in ebdomada ter manducant; in refectorio simul edunt. Ad matutinas nocte consurgunt. Diuinum officium et omnes horas canonicas singulis diebus audiunt.

- 5 Secundum consilium apostoli melius nubere quam uri iudicantes, ut sibi ab illicitis securius precaueant, continentiam non promittunt, sed, licitis utentes matrimoniis, filios et filias cum omni reuerentia et dei timore ex propriis procreant uxoribus que seorsum in eodem ordine sub habitu regulari commorantur. Postquam autem eorum filii ad  
10 annos discretionis peruenerint, si consenserint in ordine cum parentibus remanere, ex tunc uoto obligati, non possunt recedere. Si autem discedere maluerint, liberam habent egrediendi et in seculo commorandi potestatem.

- Hii igitur fratres, pedem unum in imo figentes, alium in excelso  
15 eleuantes, ad exemplum Loth preelegerunt saluari in Segor quam periclitari in montibus, quemadmodum multi clerici et religiosi uiri, post uotum continentie corruentes, perierunt, eo quod primam fidem et promissionem irritam fecerunt.

## CAPITULUM XXVII

DE NOUA RELIGIONE ET PREDICATIONE  
BONONIENSIIUM CANONICORUM

Est alia regularium canonicorum deo grata et hominibus gratiosa congregatio extra ciuitatem Bononie non longe ab ea in castris eterni regis militantium et eidem sub unius maioris obedientia in feruore

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1 pene in omnibus *A* || 5 melius *add.* est *A Vulg.* || 7 dei *om.* *CD* || 8 qui *CD* || 10 in ordine consenserint *A* || 12 habeant *A* || 22–23 gratiosa congregatio *CDG-TWJRKOP Mo, om. ABHQ* || 23 Bonomie *B*, Bonie *D*

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5 cfr 1 Cor 7,9 || 7–8 cfr Hebr 12,28 || 17–18 cfr 1 Tim 5,12

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Chapter 27. For bibliography on the early Friars Preachers, see Appendix C: Dominicans, p. 269.



spiritus et «mentis excessu» tam deuote quam humiliter seruientium. Hii siquidem ita expediti post dominum currunt et nudi nudum secuntur, quod omnium exteriorum curam et temporalium possessionem a se penitus reiecerunt, omnia transitoria tamquam stercora reputantes, ut Christum lucrifaciant. Sapienter enim pensantes et prudenter attendentes quod sufficit diei malitia sua, in tantum de crastino non cogitant, quod elemosinas aliquas a fidelibus non recipiunt, nisi quantum sobrie uite sue ad artam necessitatem possit sufficere. Tribus in ebdomada diebus carnes, si eis apponantur, non recusant, simul in refectorio manducantes et in dormitorio quiescentes et horas canonicas secundum beati Augustini regulam pariter in ecclesia «in uoce exultationis et confessionis» domino concinentes, immolantes deo sacrificium laudis, et reddentes altissimo uota sua.

Ipsi autem, ex numero scolarium Bononie causa studii commorantium in unum, domino inspirante, congregati, diuinarum scripturarum lectiones, uno eorum docente, singulis diebus audiunt. Que autem diligenter audierint, summi pontificis auctoritate et sancte romane ecclesie institutione, Christi fidelibus diebus festis in predicatione refundunt, canonicam regulam et salutare regularium obseruantias predicationis et doctrine gratia decorantes et predicatorum ordinem canonicorum ordini coniungentes. Hec igitur dulcis mixtura bonorum multos ad imitandum allicit, prouocat et accendit, et diebus singulis sancta et honesta Christi scolarium congregatio et numero ampliatur et caritate dilatatur.

Attendentes enim sapienter fortes athlete Ihesu Christi quod nullum sacrificium magis placitum sit deo quam zelus et salus animarum et

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1 humiliter *add.* deo *A* || 2 ita] adeo *CD Mo* | nudi *om.* *CD* || 3 omnem *CD Mo* | et] in *C* || 4 abiecerunt *A* || 8 necessitatem] uitam *A* || 9 simul *om.* *Mo* || 13 reddentes *add.* in *C* || 14 scolarum *ABC* || 17 diligenter *om.* *A* || 18–19 predicatione ... obseruantias *om.* *Mo* || 19 salutare *ACD*, salutaris *B* | obseruantias regularium *A* || 22 allicit *add.* et *CD* || 23 scolarum *A* | nimio *A* || 25 fortes *om.* *CD* || 26 sit placitum *A*

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1 Ps 30, 23 || 4–5 cfr Phil 3, 8 || 6–7 cfr Mt 6, 34 || 11–12 Ps 41, 5 || 12–13 cfr Ps 49, 14

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14–15 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1378, 1. CSEL, LVII, p. 359. PL, XXXIII, 960, 5.

quod anima que impinguat impinguabitur et qui inebriat ipse quoque inebriabitur, sumentes in uasis suis de optimis terre frugibus et ferentes uiro munera, aquas suas in plateis diuidunt, et fontes eorum diriuantur foras in agro domini fructum centesimum recepturi, unanimiter laborantes ut, animas peccatorum de faucibus leuiathan extrahentes, postquam ad scientiam erudierint multos, fulgeant tamquam stelle in perpetuas eternitates.

## CAPITULUM XXVIII

## DE RELIGIONE ET REGULA HUMILIATORUM

- 10 Sunt quedam in Italia et maxime in Lombardie partibus uiro-  
mulierum regulariter uiuentium congregationes quos humiliatos appel-  
lant, eo quod in paupertate et asperitate habitus et gestus exterioris  
compositione et morum grauitate et in omnibus uerbis et operibus  
suis magnum ostendant humilitatis exemplum.
- 15 Viuunt autem in communi ex parte magna de labore manuum  
suarum. Non enim multos habent redditus uel possessiones, nec  
cuiquam illorum licet aliquid proprium possidere. Omnes horas  
canonicas diebus et noctibus laici sicut et clerici non pretermittunt.  
Fere omnes litterati sunt. Qui autem horas canonicas discere nesciunt,  
20 sub certo numero dicentes orationem dominicam, debita recompen-

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1-2 et ... inebriabitur *om. Mo* || 2 fructibus *CD Mo* | frugibus terre *A* | et  
*om. A* || 4 fores *CD* || 10 partibus Lombardie *CD Mo* || 15 magna parte *ACD*  
*Mo* || 17 aliquid *om. A* || 18 sicut *om. A* || 19 fere *add. enim CD Mo* | discere ]  
dicere *CD Mo* || 20 dicentes ] dicunt *A*

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1-2 cfr Prov 11, 25 || 2-3 cfr Gen 43, 11 || 3 cfr Prov 5, 16 || 4 cfr Mt 13, 8 ||  
5 cfr Jb 40, 20 || 6-7 cfr Dan 12, 3

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Chapter 28. On the Humiliati see also Letter I, 49-61 of Jacques de Vitry, Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 72-73. See Appendix C: Humiliati, p. 285. || 16-17 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1378, 1. CSEL, LVII, p. 359. PL, XXXIII, 960, 5.

satione abluuntur. Sunt autem fere per omnes ciuitates in partibus illis multi huius religionis conuentus, quorum multi carnes nisi in graui egritudine non manducant, neque camisiis uel lintheaminibus uel plumis utuntur. Lectionibus autem et orationibus et laboribus manuum assidue uacantes, desidiam et otii torporem a se studiose reppellunt. 5 Conuerse autem eorum ab hominibus huius religionis adeo seiuncte sunt et cum omni diligentia et cautela seorsum inhabitant, quod neque in ecclesia neque in alio loco sese mutuo nisi raro possunt alloqui uel uidere. Quando etiam ad predicationem diuini uerbi conueniunt, muro interposito, a se inuicem plerumque separantur. 10

Fratres autem eorum tam clerici quam laici litterati a summo pontifice, qui regulam eorum et canonica instituta confirmauit, auctoritatem habent predicandi, non solum in sua congregatione sed in plateis et ciuitatibus, in ecclesiis secularibus, requisito tamen consensu eorum qui presunt locis illis prelatorum. Ex quo factum est, 15 quod multos nobiles et potentes ciues, matronas etiam et uirgines predicatione sua ad dominum conuerterunt. Quorum quidam seculo omnino renunciantes, ad eorum religionem transierunt. Alii autem in seculo corporaliter remanentes, licet cum filiis et uxoribus remanserint, humiliati et a mundi negotiationibus abstracti, in habitu religioso et 20 sobrietate uictus et operibus misericordie permanentes, utuntur hoc seculo secundum apostoli consilium uelut non utentes. Sed et sacerdotes et clerici, fallacibus huius mundi renunciantes deliciis, assumpto paupertatis habitu regulari, predictis humiliatis associantur. Ipsi enim

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1 absoluuntur *CD Mo* | fere per omnes *A*, fere omnes per *B*, per omnes fere *CD Mo* || 2 multi<sup>1</sup> *om. A Mo* | huiusmodi *C* | carnes *add. non A* || 3 egritudine *add. edunt A* | non manducant *om. A* | nec *Mo* | uel<sup>1</sup> aut *CD* || 4 operibus *A* || 4-5 assidue manuum *C* || 7 cautela et diligentia *CD Mo* || 8 se *A* || 10 plerumque *om. A, add. seminantur B* || 13 solum *om. A* | congregatione *add. tantum A* || 15 est *om. Mo* || 16 multi *A* | et<sup>2</sup> *om. A* || 17 conuerterent *A Mo* || 18 omnino] penitus *CDGTWJRKOP Mo* || 19 corporaliter *om. A* || 20 in] et *C* || 21 et *add. in A* || 23 seculi *Mo* || 24 sociantur *CD Mo*

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21-22 cfr 1 Cor 7, 31

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11-12 Pope Innocent III approved the constitutions of the converted Humiliati in 1201 when they organized as an order.

in fine predicationis sue, dum adhuc audientium corda, uirtute diuini sermonis feruentia, proniora sunt ad mundi contemptum et ad creatoris sui seruitium, solent a circumstantibus querere, si qui sunt qui ad eorum religionem, diuinitus inspirati, uelint transire. Multis autem in  
 5 illa ebrietate et spiritus feruore ad ipsos transeuntibus, paruo tempore multiplicati sunt ualde, multos in diuersis ciuitatibus ex fratribus suis et sororibus conuentus procreantes.

Adeo autem formidabiles hereticis quos paterinos appellant, effecti sunt, et, ita potenter et aperte fraudes eorum detegendo, impios et  
 10 incredulos ex diuinis scripturis prudenter conuincunt et publice confundunt, quod iam coram ipsis non audent comparere, multique ex ipsis, errorem suum cognoscentes, ad Christi fidem reuersi, ipsis fratribus coniuncti sunt, et ita facti sunt discipuli ueritatis qui fuerant magistri erroris. Hii autem acrius inter omnes notas sibi uulpeculas  
 15 capientes et cognitis sibi obuiantes erroribus proprio gladio more Dauid, collum abscindunt Golie, et tamquam fortis mulier Iudith caput obtruncant Holoferni, et incidit inimicus in foveam quam fecit.

## CAPITULUM XXIX

DE HOSPITALIBUS PAUPERUM  
ET DOMIBUS LEPROSORUM

Sunt insuper alie, tam uirorum quam mulierum seculo renunciantium et regulariter in domibus leprosorum uel hospitalibus pauperum uiuentium, absque estimatione et numero certo in omnibus occidentis

1 uirtuti *CD* | diuinis *D* || 3 sui *om. CD* | seruitutem *CD* | circumstantibus *ACD Mo*, circumdantibus *B* | qui<sup>2</sup> *CD Mo, om. AB* || 4 inspirati *add. et A* || 7 sororibus *add. suis CD* || 8 paternos *Mo* || 10 incredulos *D* || 12 fidem Christi *A* || 13 fuerant *A Mo*, fuerunt *BCD* || 14 acrius *om. A* | notas *om. CD* || 16 mulier *om. CD* || 17 et *om. CD* || 20 et *add. de A*

14–15 cfr Cant 2, 15 || 17 cfr Ps 7, 16

8 On the *Pataria* see also Letter I, 52 of Jacques de Vitry, Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 72, and the comments of Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 65. See Appendix C: *Pataria*, p. 287. || Chapter 29. Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad hospitalarios et fratres et sorores et religiosos custodes infirmorum*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 17509. See Appendix C: Hospital Congregations, p. 276.

regionibus congregationes, pauperibus et infirmis humiliter et deuote ministrantes. Viuunt autem secundum sancti Augustini regulam absque proprio et in communi sub unius maioris obedientia, et, habitu regulari suscepto, perpetuam domino promittunt continentiam.

Seorsum autem uiri et seorsum femine cum omni reuerentia et 5 castitate dormiunt et manducant. Horas autem canonicas, quantum hospitalitatis studium et pauperum Christi ministerium permittunt, diebus et noctibus audire non omittunt. In domibus autem in quibus maior est conuentus et numerosior fratrum et sororum congregatio, frequenter in capitulo ad corrigendas delinquentium negligentias uel 10 pro aliis necessariis et honestis causis congregantur. Lectiones etiam diuinarum scripturarum plerumque, dum reficiuntur corpora, sibi faciunt recitare, in refectorio et aliis certis locis et horis constitutis silentium obseruantes. Homines autem infirmos uel hospites sanos, quos in domibus suis suscipiunt, separatos a mulieribus manducare 15 faciunt et dormire.

Capellani autem eorum, cum omni humilitate et deuotione pauperibus et infirmis in spiritualibus ministrantes, uerbo diuine predicationis indoctos instruunt, pusillanimes et debiles consolantur, et ad patientiam et gratiarum actionem exhortantur. Diuinum officium, ut omnes 20 infirmi audire in lectis suis ualeant, in capella communi diebus et noctibus assidue celebrant. Confessiones autem et extremas unctiones et alia sacramenta diligenter et sollicite subministrant infirmis, et mortuis debitam exhibent sepulturam.

Hii igitur Christi ministri, sobrii et parci sibi et corporibus suis 25 districti ualde et seueri, erga pauperes et infirmos misericordie uisceribus affluentes et prompto animo necessaria pro posse suo ministrantes, quanto abiectiores sunt in domo domini in uia, tanto gradum sublimio-

1 pauperum *CD* || 5 seorsum<sup>1</sup> *ACD Mo*, sursum *B* | et seorsum femine *om. CD* || 5-6 castitate et reuerentia *A* || 8 diebusque *C* | et *om. C* || 9 et sororum *om. CD* || 10 negligentias delinquentium *A* || 11 etiam *om. A* || 12 reficiunt *C* || 13 recitari *A Mo* | et<sup>1</sup> *add. in A* || 18 in spiritualibus *om. CD* || 26 et infirmos *om. CD* || 26-27 uisceribus misericordie *CD* || 28 in uia *om. CD* || 28-p. 148, 1 sublimiorem] altiore *A*

28 cfr Ps 83, 11

13 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 3. CSEL, LVII, p. 361. PL, XXXIII, 960, 7. || 19 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1384, 11. CSEL, LVII, p. 370. PL, XXXIII, 964-65, 15.

rem consequentur in patria. Tantas autem plerumque pro Christo  
sustinent infirmorum immunditias et fetorum molestias pene intolera-  
biles, sibimet uiolentiam inferentes, quod nullum aliud penitentie  
genus huic sancto et pretioso in conspectu dei martyrio posse arbitrer  
5 comparari. Hec igitur sordium stercora, quibus uelut fimo mentes  
eorum ad fructificandum impinguntur, dominus in lapides pretiosos  
permutabit, et erit pro fetore odor suauis.

<DE ABUSIBUS ALIQUARUM CONGREGATIONUM>

Hec autem sancta et deo amabilis hospitalitatis regula et hospita-  
lium religio in pluribus locis et domibus eorum adeo corrupta est, et  
10 quasi ad nichilum miserabiliter redacta, quod hominum reproborum  
sordida et detestanda congregatio non solum hiis qui eorum nequitiam  
plenius agnouerunt displicet, sed etiam in conspectu dei fetet. Sub  
pretextu enim hospitalitatis et simulate pietatis facti sunt questuarii,  
mendaciis et deceptionibus et modis omnibus quibus possunt pecunias  
15 importune extorquentes, seipsos pascentes de pauperibus autem non  
curantes, nisi quantum eorum occasione possunt elemosinas a fidelibus  
exigere, modicum offerentes pauperibus et infirmis, ut propter hoc  
negotiatores dolosi et caupones astuti quodam uenationis genere  
fraudulento multa lucrentur. Qui enim pauperibus parum tribuunt ut  
20 amplius accipiant et sub pretextu elemosine querunt diuitias, uenatores  
potius quam benefici reputandi sunt. Sic bestie, sic aues, sic capiuntur  
et pisces. Modicum esce in hamo ponitur, ut pecunie sacculi in eo  
pertrahantur. Adeo autem importune et irreuerenter et anxie elemo-  
sinas petunt, quod, religionis reuerentiam in se confundentes, contemp-  
25 tibilem reddunt. Contra quos ait beatus Iheronimus: «Melius est non  
habere quod tribuas, quam impudenter petere quod des.»

1 consequuntur *Mo* || 3 quod *CD Mo*, *om. AB* | alium *Mo* || 4 domini *A Vulg.* ||  
7 commutabit *A* | erit *add. eis ACD Mo* || 10 hominibus *Mo* || 17 conferentes  
*CD Mo* | et *om. C Mo* || 18 cauponi *CD* || 20 amplius ] plus *C* || 21 beneficii *C* ||  
22 esce ] esse *CD* | saeculi *Mo*

4 cfr Ps 115, 15 || 7 cfr Is 3, 24 || 21-22 cfr Eccle 9, 12

25-26 The citation has not been identified.

Plerumque etiam per barbato fratres multa in ypochrisi exterius simulantes, uel per mercennarios et mendaces capellanos qui simplices non formidant decipere et falcem suam in messem alienam mittere, uel per indulgentiarum litteras quibus turpis lucri cupiditate abutuntur, multa turpiter luantur. Vt de illis taceamus qui falsariorum crimen 5  
pessimum incurrentes, falsis litteris et bullis furtiuis in perditionem suam uti non uerentur. Ea uero que turpiter congregant, quam turpius «in comessationibus et ebrietatibus» expendant, et alia consequentia que in occulto et in tenebris ipsi tenebroso operantur, licet non erubescant patrare, pudet tamen nos ad presens recitare. 10

De regularibus autem institutis et ordinis puritate nichil preter exteriorem habitum retinentes, omnes fere per symoniam recipiunt. Qui turpiter ingressi turpissime ad imitationem aliorum ibidem commorantur, in murmure et dissensione, in iurgiis et seditionibus, in otio et dissolutione, in loculis et proprii retentione, in cubilibus et immunditiis 15  
et omnimoda feditate, sine affectione, absque misericordia, absque federe. Lectos autem in oculis hominum ornatos, pauperibus autem et infirmis uacuos, ad ostentationem et seductionem componunt. Domos autem hospitalitatis et pietatis in speluncas latronum et prostibula meretricium, et synagogas iudeorum conuertunt. 20

#### ⟨DE LAUDIBUS ALIARUM CONGREGATIONUM⟩

Huiusmodi autem pestifera corruptio et detestabilis ypochrisis non omnes hospitalium domos occupauit. Quedam enim sunt regulares congregationes et principales conuentus seu capitalia hospitalia in quibus non desunt feruor caritatis, unctio pietatis, honestatis decor, et seueritas discipline. Quemadmodum sunt hospitalia spiritus sancti 25

1 per barbato] perturbato JR Mo | multa om. C || 2 mercenarii Mo || 3 decipere add. et fallaces B || 4 turpi A || 7 suam om. Mo | aggregant C || 8 et<sup>1</sup> in C | consequantur C, sequentia Mo || 11 autem om. CD || 12 fere om. CD || 13 ibidem ad imitationem aliorum A || 13-14 congregantur A || 16 et omnimoda ... affectione om. A | absque<sup>2</sup> sine CD Mo || 17 autem<sup>1</sup> om. A | hominum oculis A || 19 hospitalitatus Mo | et<sup>2</sup> om. A Mo || 21 corruptio pestifera CD || 24 desinit A Mo || 25 discipline seueritas A | sancti spiritus ACD Mo

3 cfr Deut 23,25 || 8 Rom 13,13 || 15 cfr Rom 13,13 || 16-17 cfr Rom 1,31 || 19 cfr Lc 19,46

25 The Hospital of the Holy Spirit became the center of a congregation

in romana urbe, et sancti Samsonis in constantinopolitana ciuitate, et beati Antonii in ipso capite, et hospitale beate Marie Roncideuallis in introitu Hyspanie, et alia quedam deo grata et pauperibus peregrinis seu infirmis ualde necessaria. Parisiis autem et Nouiomi in Francia, 5 Pruuni in Campania et Tornaci in Flandria et Leodii in Lotharingia et Bruscellis in Brabantia, sunt hospitalia pietatis et domus honestatis,

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1 constantinopolitate *D* || 2 hospitale *om. Mo* | Roncideuallis *AB*, Runcieuallis *C*, Runciuallis *D*, Ronsciouallis *Mo* || 4 necessaria ualde *C* | Parisius *AD* | Noruiomi *A* || 5 Pruuni *D*, Pruuni *BC Mo*, Pruuii *A* | et Leodii in Lotharingia *om. CD* || 6 Brucellis *ACD*, Bruxellis *Mo* | domibus *C*

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founded about 1180 by Guy at Montpellier and approved by Innocent III. In 1204, when the same Pope was reorganizing a hospice at Rome originally founded in the eighth century for the Saxons, he called upon the confraternity to staff it. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Santo Spirito in Sassia, p. 282. || 1 The Hospital of Saint Samson, near the church of Santa Sophia, was taken under papal protection by Innocent III in 1208. It was later united to the Knights Hospitaller of Saint John of Jerusalem. LTK, V<sup>2</sup>, 492-94. || 2 The Hospital of Saint Anthony belonged to the congregation of the same title. Le Grand, *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu*, p. 5. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois, p. 281. | The Hospital of Saint Mary at Roncevalles in Navarre was founded in 1131 and eventually became the center of a congregation. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Roncevalles, p. 280. || 4 At the time Jacques de Vitry wrote his *History* there existed several hospitals in Paris: the Hôtel-Dieu, Saint Gervais, Saint Catherine, and others. It is safe to assume that the author had in mind the Hôtel-Dieu, the most ancient and the most important. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Paris, p. 279. | At Noyon in the thirteenth century were to be found the Hôtel-Dieu of Saint John and also a leprosarium. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Noyon, p. 278. || 5 The Hôtel-Dieu at Provins was established about 1050 and refounded in 1160. Toward the end of the twelfth century the Hospital of the Holy Spirit was erected to care for the poor, the old, and for children. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Provins, p. 280. | In a document in 1187 three hospitals at Tournai are mentioned: Saint-Christophe, the Hôpital de Marvis or des Caufours, and the Hôtellerie de Notre Dame or du Gué. There were also two leper houses: that of Saint Lazarus or Val-d'Orcq, mentioned in a document of 1153, and that of Froides-Parois, founded before 1200. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Tournai, p. 284. | At Liège the Hospital of Saint Christopher was in existence in 1199, and the leprosarium of Mont Cornillon had been erected before 1200. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Liège, p. 278. || 6 Several hospitals were founded at Brussels before the time of Jacques de Vitry: Notre Dame, entitled Saint Gertrude in the modern period, before 1127; Saint Nicholas, 1129; Saint James, 1162; the leprosarium of Saint Peter, before 1174; Saint John, 1186. Notre Dame and Saint John were staffed by communities of both sexes. See Appendix C: Hospitals, Brussels, p. 278.



officine sanctitatis, conuentus decoris et religionis, refugia pauperum, auxilium miserorum, consolationes lugentium, refectio esurientium, suauitas et mitigatio infirmorum.

## CAPITULUM XXX

## DE SECULARIBUS CANONICIS

Non solum autem supradicte regularium congregationes multiformes supra sancti Augustini regulare fundamentum sub diuersis artificibus uaria construxerunt edificia, sed et cathedralium ecclesiarum ministri, quos nunc canonicos seculares appellamus, sub eadem regula communiter a prima eorum institutione domino seruierunt in humilitate et 10 paupertate, diuinis officiis, lectionibus et orationibus uacando, in castris domini militantes, simul in refectorio sobrium cibum sumentes, et intendendo diuinarum scripturarum lectionibus animas reficientes, in eodem etiam dormitorio castis cubilibus nocte quiescentes.

Sede autem pontificali uacante, premissis orationibus et ieiuniis et 15 inuocato cum lacrimis de supernis spiritus sancti consilio et auxilio, unum quem digniorem credebant caput sibi preficiebant. Nec tamen facile poterant reperire, qui periculosum et arduum prelacionis gradum auderet ascendere, et idcirco cathedrales et matrices ecclesias multis annis plerumque contingebat uacare. Dum enim unusquisque indignum 20 et insufficientem seipsum iudicaret, ad exemplum beati euangeliste Marci qui sibi pollicem abscidit, ne fieret episcopus, fugiebant, contradicebant et modis omnibus dignitates recusabant. Multi autem tempo-

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1 religionis et decoris *A* || 2 asilum *CD* | esurientium *add.* et *Mo* || 5 De canonicis regularibus secularibus *C* | canonicis secularibus *D* || 9 seculares *om.* *C* || 13 et ... reficientes *om.* *JR Mo* || 15 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *CD* || 23 omnibus modis *C*

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1 cfr Ps 9, 10 || 2 cfr Mt 5, 5 | cfr Lc 6, 21

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12-13 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1380, 4. CSEL, LVII, p. 361. PL, XXXIII, 960, 8. || 21-22 For this story of Saint Mark see Appendix C: Saint Mark, Apostle, p. 292.

ribus istis reperiuntur canonici uero nomine seculares, qui, ut episcopi fierent, quatuor uellent habere pollices.

⟨DE CANONICIS FALSIS⟩

Qui cum regulariter non uiuant falso sibi canonici nomen usurpant, umbram nominis retinentes, «uirtutem eius autem abnegantes». Sicut  
 5 enim homo pictus non est homo, et denarius falsus denarius non est, ita qui huiusmodi sunt canonici seculares non sunt canonici. Quo enim pacto canonici, id est regulares, censentur, quorum regula est irregulariter uiuere, quorum lex est sine lege moueri, et post concupiscentias suas abire, proprie uoluntati absque ulla contradictione passim  
 10 frena laxare, curam carnis in desideriis facere, cum omni lasciuia et dissolutione per uiam latam que ducit ad inferos indisciplinate ambulare, crucifixi patrimonium luxu multiplici superflue consumere.

Pauper Lazarus extra ianuam mendicat, Christus ad hostia plorat; mimus et hystrio ad mensam cantat. Multa uestium mutatoria ad  
 15 ostentationem uanitatis in pertica extenduntur, et Christi pauperes fame et frigore cruciantur. Mures in domibus suis calefaciunt, Christum nudum de patrimonio suo non uestiunt, et quod emit sanguine proprio consumunt in apparatu regio; quod acquisiuit obprobriis et percussionibus, consumunt in conuiujs et ebrietatibus. Hic in presepio, hii  
 20 in palatijs; hic in asello, isti in phaleris; hic in panniculis, illi in sericis; hic in cruce, isti in balneis. Qui de crucis titulo non nisi fomenta libidinis et materiam uanitatis requirunt, filium dei rursum crucifigentes et ostentui habentes, multiplicantur opibus, dilatantur prebendis et dignitatibus, honoribus gloriantur, auro et argento et plenis oculis impin-  
 25 guantur, qui dominum partem hereditatis sue professi sunt et Christi humilitatem et paupertatem imitari promiserunt.

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1 seculares *ACD Mo*, regulares *B* || 4 autem eius *ACD Mo Vulg.* || 5 denarius<sup>1</sup> *ACD Mo*, de *B* | non est denarius *A* || 6 canonici non sunt *A* || 12 superconsumere *Mo* || 14 mimus] miluus *C* || 18 et *om. CD* || 18-19 persecutionibus *A* || 20 palacio *A* | isti] hii *A* | illi] isti *A* || 21 non nisi *om. C* | nisi *om. D* || 23 ostentatui *C*

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4-2 Tim 3, 5 || 8-9 cfr Eccli 18, 30 || 10 cfr Rom 13, 14 || 11 cfr Mt 7, 13 || 22-23 cfr Hebr 6, 6 || 25 cfr Ps 15, 5

Quanto autem et quam detestabili sacrilegio Christi patrimonium et predia pauperum in usus uanitatis conuertunt, non solum sollempnitas magnifici apparatus et numerosior equitatus ostendit, sed et canes et uolucres, scurre et ioculatores, alea pernox et cantatrices et palpantes adulatores manifestius ostentant. Vbi autem tympana sonant, tibia 5 clamat, lira garrit, cymbalum concrepat, parasitus in contumeliis gloriatur, quis ibi timor domini esse potest? Sed et defunctorum anime quorum elemosinis isti in superfluitate abutuntur, de hiis quidem coram dicticto iudice conqueruntur. Metentes enim ubi non seminant, de hiis quibus ratione dati et accepti tenentur, non curant. Sic et porcus 10 glandes manducat, ad quercum autem non respiciens, radices eius fedans conculcat.

Hii sunt qui, superbia inflati, ambitione inquieti, otio marcentes et ignauia pigri, ad iurgia et contumelias proni, excitant seditiones, faciunt sibi partes, inter fratres discordias seminant, in capitulis et 15 congregationibus conspirationes faciunt, quemadmodum dicit Ysaias: «Tumultuabitur puer contra senem et ignobilis contra nobilem.» Sicut autem ipsi pretio uel seruitio inhonesto uel uiolentia consanguineorum uel precibus uiolentis potentium male intrauerunt, ita puerulos et cognatos suos uel sibi similes homines immundos et fautores suos in 20 ecclesia dei uiolenter uel fraudulenter intrudunt, quos etiam in electionibus et prelacionum dignitatibus honestis personis et uiris litteratis anteponunt, edificantes Syon in sanguinibus, ut in eis Ysaie scriptura impleatur: «Dabo pueros principes eorum et effeminati dominabuntur eis.» 25

Hii autem qui inter eos uiri iusti et timorati super abominationibus eorum lugent et contristantur, ab hiis irridentur. Mordent et detrahunt, indignantur et maledicunt, ypocritas et superstitiosos eos dicunt, tamquam ethnicos et publicanos ipsos euitant et fugiunt, reputantes

2 usu *A* | conuertunt *A*, conuertant *BCD Mo* || 5 sonant *add.* et *A* || 6 parasitus] parassidus *Mo*<sup>1</sup>, parasitus *Mo*<sup>2</sup> | contumelia *CD* || 7 quid *C* | timor *om. CD* || 10 accepti *add.* ratione *A* | tenere *C* || 13 inquieta *A* || 15 discordiam *A* || 16 congregatione *A* | faciunt conspirationes *A* || 19 uel] seu *CD Mo* | potentum *A Mo* | puerulos] paruulos *A* || 21 uel] et *A* || 23 scriptura Ysaie *A* || 27 hiis] eis *ACD Mo* || 29 eunuchos *A*, eunichos *D* | ipsos] eos *A*

5-6 cfr Is 5, 12 || 9 cfr Mt 25, 24 || 15 cfr Prov 6, 19 || 17 Is 3, 5 || 23 cfr Mich 3, 10 || 24-25 Is 3, 4 || 29 cfr Mt 18, 17

pro magno crimine quod diuine scripture uerbum uel ipsum dei nomen inter eos ausi sunt nominare. Sicut autem spine sese inuicem complectuntur, sic est conuiuium eorum pariter potantium, detrahentium et blasphemantium, sese mutuo exhortantium: «Coronemur rosis prius-  
 5 quam marcescant, non sit pratum quod non transeat luxuria nostra. Comedamus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur.»

〈DE CANONICIS UERI NOMINIS〉

Honesti autem et religiosi et ueri nominis canonici, qui predictarum spinarum uenenatis aculeis ueluti sathane stimulis punguntur et linguis eorum toxicatis lacerantur, quanto apud aquas contradictionis probati  
 10 et detrahentium linguis examinati, predictis uiris belial et perditionis filiis displicere non formidant, tanto domino querenti: «Quis consurget michi aduersus malignantes, aut quis stabit mecum aduersus operantes iniquitatem?» magis placent. Confusi sunt autem qui hominibus placent, quoniam deus spreuit illos. Qui enim omnibus placet, omnibus  
 15 fetet. Si hominibus apostolus placeret, Christi seruus non esset. Predicti autem uiri, ut deo placeant, malis placere non curant, licet cum omnibus hominibus quantum in se est pacem habeant. Dicentes igitur cum propheta: «Nonne qui oderunt te domine oderam, et super inimicos tuos tabescebam?» Opponunt se uiriliter pro domo domini,  
 20 predictis impiis in capitulo fortiter resistentes et animas suas liberantes.

Sed et alia ad eorum regulam pertinentia, de talento sibi commissio timorem domini semper ante oculos habentes, diligenter obseruant. Ecclesiarum suarum promotioni et honori intendentes, ecclesiarum negotia tam spiritualia quam temporalia diligenter procurant, in  
 25 ecclesiis suis tamquam ueri ministri in templo Salomonis ministerium suum humiliter et deuote complentes. Et quoniam scriptum est:

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2 ausi sunt inter eos *A* | se *A* || 3 detrahentium *om. A* || 4 se *A* || 8 uenenatis *om. A* | lingue *A* || 11 tantum *A* || 13 autem sunt *CD Mo* | autem *om. A Vulg.* || 14 eos *C Vulg.* | omnibus<sup>1</sup> hominibus *C* || 17 pacem ] placere *CGTW* || 18 igitur *om. A* || 19 tuos *om. A* || 22 ante oculos semper *A* | diligunt *C* || 23 ecclesiarum<sup>2</sup> ] ecclesie *CD Mo* || 26 suum *om. A*

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4-5 cfr Sap 2, 8 || 6 Is 22, 13 || 8 cfr 2 Cor 12, 7 || 9 cfr Ps 80, 8 || 10 cfr Prov 25, 23 | cfr 2 Rg 16, 7; 20, 1 || 10-11 cfr Jo 17, 12 || 11-13 Ps 93, 16 || 13-14 cfr Ps 52, 6 || 15 cfr Gal 1, 10 || 17 cfr Rom 12, 18 || 18-19 Ps 138, 21 || 19 cfr Ez 13, 5 || 21-22 cfr Mt 25, 24-25

«Beatus populus qui scit iubiationem», ecclesie sue limina frequen-  
tantes, horas canonicas et debitas non pretermittunt. Neque negli-  
genter et absque deuotione pretereunt, sed diebus ac noctibus uoce  
sua ad dominum clamantes, non per conducticios uicarios seu mer-  
cennarios, in hymnis et psalmis et canticis spiritualibus sacrificium 5  
laudis et uitulos labiorum suorum domino reddunt, non amore pecunie  
ducti et seducti neque causa cupiditatis tracti, ut manus eorum coti-  
dianis distributionibus impleantur, quemadmodum quidam reprobi et  
miserabiles, qui dexteram in sinistram permutantes, non domino sed  
nummo seruientes, non causa deuotionis sed causa cupiditatis ad noc-  
turnum officium consurgunt, ignem alienum cum Nadab et Abiu altari  
domini imponentes et mercedem suam tantum in hoc seculo recipi-  
entes. Quantaslibet autem laudes lingua resonat, uita blasphemat.  
Qui enim deo non propter deum seruiunt, in statu saluandorum non  
sunt. Hii igitur, quam retributionem a domino expectare possunt, qui, 15  
cum unius ecclesie seruitio non sufficiunt, plura sibi beneficia in diuersis  
ecclesiis et plurimorum indigentium loca in dampnationem suam  
occupare non formidant? Qui enim non indiget et accipit, aliis indigen-  
tibus rapit, presertim cum ea tollit que non posuit, et ubi non seminauit,  
falce auaritie fructus aliis debitos colligit. 20

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1 lumina C || 7 ut ] in C || 7-8 cotidianis *add.* cupiditatibus et districtionibus A,  
cupiditatibus et QS || 8 distributionis *om.* A || 12 domino CD | suam *om.* A ||  
13 resonet ACD Mo | resonet lingua A | lingua *add.* et A || 14 deo *om.* C |  
propter deum non A | dominum D | statu *om.* Mo | saluandorum *add.* numero  
Mo || 15 quam ] qui Mo || 16 non sufficient seruitio C | in ] a Mo

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1 Ps 88, 16 || 6 cfr Osee 14, 3 || 11-12 cfr Lev 10, 1 || 12-13 cfr Mt 6, 2 ||  
19 cfr Mt 25, 24

CAPITULUM XXXI

DE IRREGULARITATE  
SECULARIUM CANONICARUM

Ad imitationem et exemplum predictorum canonicorum in partibus  
5 Hanonie et Brabantie et in quibusdam teutonicorum et alemannorum  
prouinciis quedam sunt mulieres, quas canonicas seculares seu domi-  
cellas appellant. Non enim moniales nominari uolunt, sicut canonici  
seculares monachi non dicuntur.

Hee siquidem adeo personas accipiunt, quod non nisi filias militum  
10 et nobilium in suo collegio uolunt recipere, religioni et morum nobilitati  
seculi nobilitatem preferentes. Purpura autem et bysso et pellibus  
grisiis et aliis iocunditatis sue uestibus induuntur, circumdate uarieta-  
tibus cum tortis crinibus et ornatu pretioso circumamictae ut similitudo  
templi, gaudentes cum gaudentibus, liberales ualde et hospitales.  
15 Pellibus autem agnitis quantumcumque subtilibus et delicatis utuntur.

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2 irregularitate *ACD Mo*, regularitate *B* || 3 canonicorum secularum *C* || 4 ex-  
emplum et imitationem *A* || 5 Hanonie *A*, Haonie *B*, Achonie *CD*, Hannoniae  
*Mo* | in *om. CD* || 8 monachi non dicuntur] canonici dicuntur et non monachi  
*A* || 9 siquidem *CD Mo*, *om. AB* || 10 uolunt recipere] suscipiunt *A* | recipere  
*add. et C* || 11 proferentes *C* || 14 templi *om. D* || 15 utuntur *Mo, edit., om.*  
*ABCD, et cet. codd.*

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11 cfr Lc 16, 19 || 12 cfr Jdt 10, 3 || 12-13 cfr Ps 44, 10 || 13 cfr 1 Tim 2, 9 ||  
13-14 cfr Ps 143, 12 || 14 cfr Rom 12, 15

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Chapter 31. Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, III, 248-56.  
Dictionnaire du droit canonique, III, 488-500. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 455-69. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>,  
VI, 401-06. LTK, V<sup>2</sup>, 1288-89. NCE, III, 53-54. Roisin, L'efflorescence,  
p. 360. It is possible Jacques de Vitry had in mind the canonesses of Nivelles,  
founded in the seventh century. They never adopted one of the formal rules  
but followed their own customary, took no vows, and engaged in secular  
activity. The group was suppressed in 1798. G. Despy, Les chapitres de cha-  
noinesses nobles en Belgique au moyen âge, XXXVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Fédération  
Archéologique et Historique de Belgique, Gand, 1955. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, VI, 437-38.  
Michel, pp. 82-84.

Si aliqua inter eas pallio causa humilitatis uti presumeret, miseram et abiectam et ypocritam eam uocantes, tantum nobilitatis sue dedecus nulla ratione sustinerent.

Clericorum autem et puellarum et iuuenum seruorum etiam sibi ministrantium cincte obsequio, in domibus propriis honorifice et splendide epulantur. Nec desunt mensis earum consanguinei in primo gradu sibi propinqui, quos cognatos suos appellant. In dormitorio autem iuxta ecclesiam de nocte quiescunt. Quando tamen minui sibi appetunt, uel amissa sanitate in infirmitate pregrauantur, uel aliquo grauamine comprimuntur, facile conceditur eis causa recreationis et releuationis in domibus propriis aliquando tempore remanere, uel amicos et propinquos suos equitando uisitare.

Sunt autem in eisdem ecclesiis pariter canonici seculares in diebus festis et sollempnibus ex altera parte chori cum predictis domicellis cantantes et earum modulationibus equipollenter respondere studentes. Ipse uero, uelut sirenes in delubris uoluptatis uocem iocunditatis annuntiantes, ipsos canonicos, dum superari nesciunt, fessos et fatigatos frequenter reddiderunt. Similiter et in processionibus, composite et ornate, canonici ex una parte et domine ex alia parte concinentes, procedunt.

Quedam autem ex ipsis, postquam diebus plurimis de Christi patrimonio uixerunt, relictis prebendis et ecclesiis, carioribus sibi personis matrimonio copulantur, filiosque et filias procreantes, matres-familias efficiuntur. Aliquas autem ex ipsarum congregatione uidimus, que, saniori use consilio de Hur chaldeorum et de medio Babylonis

1 eas *add.* in *ABCD* | humilitatis causa *CD Mo* || 2 et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *CD* | eam ] esse *CD* || 4 etiam ] et *C* || 5 et *HOK Mo, om.* *ABCD* || 5-6 et splendide ] splendideque *R* || 8 ecclesiam *add.* suam *CD Mo* | sibi minui *A* | minui ] minime *CGTW*, minimi *D* || 9 in *om.* *ACD* | grauantur *A* || 10 eis conceditur *CD Mo* || 12 suos *om.* *CD* || 14 sollempnitatibus *A* | ex *om.* *A* || 15 canentes *CD Mo* | equipollent *D* || 16 uero ] ergo *D* | ueluti *A* || 18 frequenter ] sepius *A* | et *om.* *A* || 21 quidam *C* | autem ] tamen *A* || 22 uixerunt *AC Mo*, uixerint *B*, uixerunt *D* | ecclesiis et prebendis *A* | sibi *om.* *CD* || 23 matrimoniis *C* | copulantur matrimonio *A* | filios *A* | procreantes et filias *C* || 24 ipsarum ] earum *Mo* || 25 de Hur chaldeorum consilio *C*

6 cfr *Lc* 16, 19 || 16 cfr *Is* 13, 22 || 25-p. 158, 1 cfr *Jer* 50, 8; 51, 6

25 Du Cange cites *usa* as an alternative form of *usus*, *mos*, *usagium*. In the text of Jacques de Vitry the force of *saniori use consilio* seems to be: "with an idea toward a more sensible advantage".

fugientes, postquam mundi incendia euaserunt, sumpto cisterciensis ordinis habitu, ad magnum perfectionis cumulum peruenerunt. Quam plures etiam inter eas commorantes agnouimus, que, cum omni humilitate et castitate salutem animarum suarum studiose procurantes, tanto deo magis acceptabiles extiterunt, quanto in igne posite non arserunt.

## CAPITULUM XXXII

DE ORDINE  
ET PREDICATIONE FRATRUM MINORUM

- 10 Predictis tribus eremitarum, monachorum et canonicorum religionibus, ut regulariter uiuentium quadratura fundamenti in soliditate sua firma subsisteret, addidit eis dominus in diebus istis quartam religionis institutionem, ordinis decorem et regule sanctitatem. Si tamen ecclesie primitiue statum et ordinem diligenter attendamus, non tam nouam  
15 addidit regulam quam ueterem renouauit. Releuauit iacentem, et pene mortuam suscitauit religionem, et uespere mundi tendentis ad occasum, imminente tempore filii perditionis, ut contra antichristi periculosa tempora nouos athletas prepararet et ecclesiam suam premuniendo fulciret. Hec est religio uere pauperum crucifixi et ordo predicatorum quos fratres minores appellamus. Vere minores, et omnibus  
20 huius temporis regularibus in habitu et nuditate et mundi contemptu

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1 cisterciensium *A* || 3 omni *om.* *D* || 4 castitate *add.* salute et castitate *D* || 5 magis deo *CD* || 8 ordine ] religione *A* || 10 et *om.* *A* || 12 addit *D* | eis *om.* *ACD Mo* || 15 addit *D* || 15-16 et pene *om.* *CD* || 16 et ] in *ACD Mo* || 18 periculo *D* | et ] ut *A* | suam *om.* *Mo* || 18-19 preeminendo *C*, preminiendo *D* || 19 uere religio *A*

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17-18 cfr 2 Tim 3,1

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Chapter 32. For the two *Sermones ad Fratres minores* of Jacques de Vitry see the edition of H. Felder in *Spicilegium Franciscanum* 5, Rome, 1903. For bibliography on the early Friars Minor see Appendix C: Franciscans, p. 272.



humiliores. Habent autem unum summum priorem cuius mandatis et regularibus institutis reuerenter obediunt minores priores ceterique eiusdem ordinis fratres, quos per diuersas mundi prouincias causa predicationis et salutis animarum ipse transmittit.

Adeo autem primitiue ecclesie religionem, paupertatem et humilitatem in se diligenter reformare procurant, puras euangelici fontis 5  
aquas cum siti et ardore spiritus haurientes, quod non solum euangelica precepta sed et consilia, uitam apostolicam expressius imitantes, modis omnibus adimplere laborant. Omnibus que possident renunciantes, seipsos abnegantes crucem sibi tollendo, nudum nudi sequentes, relin- 10  
quentes cum Ioseph pallium, et ydriam cum samaritana, expediti currunt. Ambulant ante faciem suam et non reuertuntur, posteriorum obliti in anteriora semper et passibus continuis extenduntur, uolantes ut nubes, et sicut columbe ad fenestras suas, ne mors per ipsas intrare ualeat, cum omni diligentia et cautela prouidentes. 15

Regulam autem ipsorum dominus papa confirmauit et eis auctoritatem predicandi ad quascumque uenerint ecclesias concessit, prelato-  
rum tamen loci ob reuerentiam requisito consensu. Mittuntur autem bini ad predicandum tamquam ante faciem domini et ante secundum 20  
eius aduentum. Ipsi autem Christi pauperes neque sacculum in uia portant, neque peram, neque panem, neque es siue pecuniam aliquam in zonis suis, non possidentes aurum, neque argentum, nec calciamenta in pedibus suis habentes, nulli enim huius ordinis fratri licet aliquid possidere. Non habent monasteria uel ecclesias, non agros uel uineas uel animalia, non domos uel alias possessiones, neque ubi caput 25  
reclinant. Non utuntur pellibus neque lineis sed tantummodo tunicis laneis caputiatis, non capis uel palliis uel cucullis neque aliis prorsus

3 per *om. A* || 6 reformare diligenter *CD Mo* | procurant | student *A* || 10 nudi nudum *ACD Mo* | nudi *om. D<sup>1</sup>, add. D<sup>2</sup>* || 11 pallium cum Ioseph *CD Mo* || 12 ambulant *om. A* || 14 sicut ] quasi *A Vulg.* || 17 uenerint ] uellent *CGTW*; ueniunt *Mo* | ecclesias uellent *C* || 20 Christi pauperes *om. CD* || 21 neque panem, neque es, neque peram *CD* | siue ] neque *CD* || 24 uel<sup>1</sup> ] non *A* || 25 uel<sup>2</sup> ] non *A* | alias *om. A* || 27 uel<sup>2</sup> ] aut *A*

9 cfr Lc 18, 22 || 10 cfr Mt 16, 24 || 12 cfr Ez 1, 2 || 12-13 cfr Phil 3, 13 || 13-14 cfr Is 60, 8 || 18-19 cfr Lc 10, 1 || 20-23 cfr Mt 10, 10, Lc 10, 4 || 25-26 cfr Mt 8, 20, Lc 9, 58

16 Pope Innocent III approved the primitive Franciscan Rule in 1209.

induuntur uestimentis. Si quis eos ad prandium uocauerit, manducant et bibunt que apud eos sunt. Si quis eis aliquid misericorditer contulerit, non reseruant in posterum.

Semel autem uel bis in anno tempore certo ad locum determinatum  
5 generale capitulum celebraturi conueniunt, exceptis hiis qui nimio tractu terrarum uel mari interposito separantur. Post capitulum iterum ad diuersas regiones et prouincias et ciuitates duo uel plures pariter a superiori suo mittuntur.

Non solum autem predicatione sed exemplo uite sancte et conuer-  
10 sationis perfecte, multos non solum inferioris ordinis homines sed generosos et nobiles ad mundi contemptum inuitant, qui, relictis oppidis et casalibus et amplis possessionibus, temporales diuitias in spirituales felici commercio commutantes, habitum fratrum minorum, id est, tunicam uilis pretii qua induuntur et funem quo accinguntur,  
15 assumpserunt. Tempore enim modico adeo multiplicati sunt, quod non est aliqua christianorum prouincia in qua aliquos de fratribus suis non habeant, qui in seipsis uelut in speculo mundissimo mundane uanitatis contemptum oculis inspicientium representant, presertim cum nulli ad religionem suam transeundi gremium claudant, nisi forte matrimo-  
20 nio uel aliqua alia religione fuerit obligatus. Tales enim sine licentia uxorum uel prepositorum suorum, sicut ratio exigit, nec uolunt nec debent recipere.

Alios autem omnes in amplitudine religionis sue tanto confidentius absque ulla contradictionis molestia suscipiunt, quanto diuine muni-  
25 ficentie et prouidentie sese committentes, unde eos dominus sustentare

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1 ad *ACD Mo*, ante *B* || 1-2 que apud illos sunt manducant et bibunt *A* || 2 eos] illos *A Mo Vulg'* || 4 uel] aut *A* || 5 exceptis *AD*, excepta *BC* || 7 et<sup>1</sup> *om. Mo* || 9 sed *add.* et *CD Mo* | sancte *om. C* || 10 inferioris *CD Mo*, inferiores *AB* || 11 ad] et *C* || 12 opibus *C* | amplissimis *Mo* || 12-13 diuitias in spirituales] pro spiritualibus *CGTW* | in] et *D Mo* || 14 quo] qua *A* || 16 est *CD Mo, om. AB* | prouincia *add.* est *A* || 18 inspicientium *C*, respicientiam *Mo* || 19 transeunti *CD Mo* || 20 alia *om. CD Mo* | alia aliqua *A* | fuit *C* || 21 uxorum *add.* suarum *A* | prepositorum *C*, propositorum *ABD* || 25 se *A*

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1-2 cfr *Lc* 10, 7 || 9-10 cfr *Tb* 14, 17 || 17-18 cfr *Jac* 1, 23

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21 Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, cites the use of *propositus* for *prepositus* in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, Lib. 3, c. 24.

debeat, non formidant. Ipsi enim, funiculum cum tunica uenientibus ad se largientes, quod reliquum est superne procurationi relinquunt. Adeo enim ministris suis dominus in hoc seculo centuplum restituit in uia hac qua gradiuntur, firmando super ipsos oculos suos, quod in eis ad litteram completum esse cognouimus quod scriptum est: 5  
«Dominus amat peregrinum et dat ei uictum et uestitum.» Felices enim se reputant, a quibus hospitalitatis obsequium uel elemosinas serui dei suscipere non recusant.

<DE PREDICATIONE AD SARRACENOS>

Non solum autem Christi fideles sed etiam sarraceni et obtenebrati homines, eorum humilitatem et perfectionem ammirantes, quando 10  
causa predicationis ad ipsos intrepidi accedunt, grato animo necessaria prouidentes, libentur eos recipiunt.

Vidimus primum huius ordinis fundatorem et magistrum, cui tamquam summo priori suo omnes alii obediunt, uirum simplicem et illitteratum, dilectum deo et hominibus, fratrem Francinum nomina- 15

1 ipse *A Mo* | enim *om. C* || 3 enim] autem *CD Mo* | dominus suis ministris *A* | restituit *add. et C Mo* || 4 hac uia *A* | firmat *Mo* || 5 litteras *D* | esse *om. CDGTWJRK Mo* | cognoscimus *AQS*, agnouimus *CDGTWJRK Mo* || 8 suscipere] accipere *A* || 7-8 serui dei accipere uel elemosinas *A* || 10 ammirantes *ACD Mo*, adimitantes *B* || 12 eos *om. A* || 13 et *om. Mo* || 15 fratrem *om. CD* | Francinum *BDO Mo*, Franciscum *ACHJRQSGTWKP* || 15-p. 162, 1 nomine *CD*

3 cfr Mt 19, 29 || 4 cfr Ps 31, 8 || 6 Deut 10, 18 || 15 cfr Eccli 45, 1

13 ff. The actual meeting of the saint and the sultan occurred sometime in September, 1219, Francis having arrived late in August and having departed after the capture of Damietta on November 5 (Gemelli, p. 488; Golubovich, I, 94; Donovan, p. 60). The sultan was Malik al-Kamil (1180-1238), nephew of Saladin, who became ruler in Egypt in 1218 (Encyclopedia of Islam, III, 204-05; Gavigan, pp. 30-31). Francis was accompanied by Fra Illuminato da Rieti (Basetti-Sani, pp. 158, 261). See Appendix C: Saint Francis in the Orient, p. 291. || 15 *Francinum* has been retained in the text, for it is found in the three early manuscripts and is the more difficult reading. Could it be a paleographical error for *Francicum* or *Francigenum*? On the name of Francis see M. Bihl, *De Nomine sancti Francisci*, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 19 (1926), 469-529.

tum, ad tantum ebrietatis excessum et feruorem spiritus raptum fuisse, quod, cum ad exercitum christianorum ante Damiatam in terra Egypti deuenisset, ad soldani Egypti castra intrepidus et fidei clypeo communitus accessit. Quem cum in uia captum sarraceni tenuissent,  
 5 «Ego», inquit, «christianus sum. Ducite me ad dominum uestrum». Quem cum ante ipsum pertraxissent, uidens eum bestia crudelis, in aspectu uiri dei in mansuetudine conuersa, per dies aliquot ipsum sibi et suis Christi fidem predicantem attendissime audiuit. Tandem uero, metuens ne aliqui de exercitu suo, uerborum eius efficacia ad dominum  
 10 conuersi, ad christianorum exercitum pertransirent, cum omni reuerentia et securitate ad nostrorum castra reduci precepit, dicens ei in fine: «Ora pro me, ut deus legem illam et fidem que magis sibi placet mihi dignetur reuelare.»

Sarraceni autem omnes predictos fratres minores tamdiu de Christi  
 15 fide et euangelica doctrina predicantes libenter audiunt, quousque Machometo tamquam mendaci et perfido in predicatione sua manifeste contradicunt. Ex tunc autem impie eos uerberantes, et, nisi deus mirabiliter protegeret, pene trucidantes, de ciuitatibus suis expellunt.

⟨ENCOMIUM FRATRUM MINORUM⟩

Hic est fratrum minorum sanctus ordo et apostolicorum uirorum  
 20 ammiranda et imitanda religio, quos dominum contra perditionis filium antichristum et eius prophanos discipulos credimus in diebus nouissimis suscitasse. Qui lectulum Salomonis tamquam fortes Christi milites ambiendo et de porta ad portam cum gladiis transeundo, super muros Iherusalem constituti sunt custodes. Diebus ac noctibus a  
 25 diuinis laudibus et sanctis exhortationibus non cessantes, uocem suam quasi tuba in fortitudine exaltantes, facientes uindictam in nationibus,

2 Damietam *C*, Damiatham *Mo* || 3 ad soldani Egypti *om. A* | fidei *ACD Mo, om. B* | clypeo *add. domini B* || 4 captum *om. Mo* || 5 ego sum christianus, inquit *Mo* || 7 mansuetudinem *Mo* || 8 Christum *A* | fidem *om. A* || 11 adduci *CD* || 13 mihi *om. A* || 15 predicantes libenter *CD Mo*, libenter predicantes *AB* | audiunt *A Mo*, audiuit *B*, audierunt *CD* || 16 in *om. Mo* || 17 contradixerunt *C* | eos impie *ACD Mo* | deus *add. eos A* || 19 minorum *ACD Mo*, minor *B* || 23 transiendo *CD* || 26 tubam *A Mo* | exaltantes *add. et C Mo*

22–23 cfr Cant 3, 7 || 23 cfr Ex 32, 27 || 23–24 cfr Is 62, 6 || 25–26 cfr Is 58, 1 || 26–p. 163, 1 cfr Ps 149, 7

increpationes in populis, et gladios suos non prohibentes a sanguine,  
 mactantes et manducantes, circumeuntes ciuitatem, et famem patien-  
 tes ut canes, qui tamquam salterre cibos suauitatis et salutis condientes,  
 carnes desiccant, uermium putredinem et uitiorum fetorem amouen-  
 tes, et tamquam lux mundi multos ad scientiam ueritatis illuminant 5  
 et ad feruorem castitatis accendunt et inflammant. Hic autem per-  
 fectionis ordo et spatiosi claustrum amplitudo infirmis et imperfectis  
 congruere non uidetur, ne forte descendentes mare in nauibus et facien-  
 tes operationem in aquis multis fluctibus procellosis inuoluantur, nisi  
 sederint in ciuitate donec induantur uirtute ex alto. 10

## CAPITULUM XXXIII

DE HIIS QUI  
 PREDICTIS ORDINIBUS ABUTUNTUR

Hiis igitur uariis religionibus et diuersis regularium institutis uelut  
 luminaribus in firmamento ecclesie occidentalis positis, dominus pre- 15  
 dictas regiones illuminauit, ut essent «refugii ciuitates» et turres  
 fortitudinis a facie inimici, utens eis tamquam retibus et sagenis  
 ad extrahendos pisces multos de «limo profundi», et de mundi huius  
 tempestatibus nubilosis. Sunt autem huiusmodi separate habitationes  
 quibusdam uelut stabulum iumentorum seu porcorum, aliis quasi 20  
 habitacula carcerum, non nullis autem sunt portus tranquillitatis et  
 ortus deliciarum.

Quidam enim hoc seculum uelut umbram fugientem subsequentes

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1 et ] in C | suos ] eorum A || 2 circumeuntes *om.* D || 6 caritatis CD Mo |  
 et inflammant *om.* CD || 8 uidentur D || 14 institutionum A || 16 illuminauit  
 regiones CD Mo | turres ACD Mo *Vulg.*, turris B || 18 limo *add.* huius A ||  
 19 nebulosis A | habitationes separate A

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1 cfr Jer 48, 10 || 2 cfr Act 10, 14 || 2-3 cfr Ps 58, 7 || 8-9 cfr Ps 106, 23-25 ||  
 10 cfr Lc 24, 49 || 15 cfr Gen 1, 14 || 16 Jos 21, 36 || 16-17 cfr Ps 60, 4 ||  
 17-18 cfr Mt 13, 47 || 18 Ps 68, 3 || 23 cfr Jb 14, 2

- et apprehendere non ualentes, domos regularium ingrediuntur tantum ut eis temporalia ministrentur, quibus dominus in euangelio imperat dicens: «Queritis me, non quia uidistis signa, sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis.» Hii igitur mercennarii, qui domino
- 5 se ministrare simulant tantum ut uentrem impleant, de quibus ait psalmista: «Confitebitur tibi cum benefeceris ei», licet ad tempus credere uideantur, in tempore temptationis recedunt et, si non fuerint saturati, murmurabunt. Inimici crucis Christi, quorum deus uenter est, queruli et inconstantes et quod in seculo habere nequiuert in religione
- 10 querentes, quorum omnis usus aut in uentre aut sub uentre est. Quibus dicentibus domino: «Magister, sequemur te quocumque ieris», respondit talium reproborum hominum dominus consortia respuendo: «Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis, ubi caput reclinat, non habet.»
- 15 Alii autem pericula et temptationes seculi blandientis fugientes, mundane uanitati tamquam umbre subsequenti terga dantes, post uarios lapsus et ruinas multiplices de mundi naufragio euadere cupientes, uitam regularem tamquam carcerem quo securius recludentur sibi prudenter eligunt, loris discipline et ad presepium domini iumentum
- 20 suum religantes, carnem suam crucifigentes cum uitis et concupiscentiis, ut in eis compleatur quod scriptum est: «Regnum celorum uim patitur et uiolenti diripiunt illud.»

Sunt alii in mundo et non de hoc mundo qui, usu et exercitio et diuturni conflictus experientia examinati et purgati, mundum sibi

25 subiugaturi sub pedibus conculcantes, et fallaces diuitias fastidiendo,

2 ministrent *CD* | in euangelio dominus *CD Mo* || 3 uidisti *D* || 3-4 manducasti *D* || 4 domino] dicunt *C* || 5 dicit *A* || 7 fuerint *ACD Mo Vulg.*, fuerunt *B* || 9 nequiuert *add.* et *D* || 10 est aut sub uentre *A* || 11 sequamur *C Mo* || 14 caput *add.* suum *A* | non habet ubi caput reclinat *C Vulg.* || 15 alii *CD Mo*, alia *AB* || 19 et *om.* *ACD Mo* || 21 quod *om.* *Mo* | scriptura *Mo* || 23 et<sup>3</sup> *om.* *A Mo* || 24 sibi *om.* *Mo* || 25 subiugaturi *JR Mo*, subiugantium *AB*, subiugatum *CD*, subiugauerunt *H* | et *add.* eius *CD Mo* | delicias *CD Mo*

3-4 Jo 6, 26 || 6 Ps 48, 19 || 6-7 cfr Lc 8, 13 || 7-8 cfr Ps 58, 16 || 8 Phil 3, 18-19 || 11 cfr Mt 8, 19 || 13-14 Mt 8, 20 || 20-21 cfr Gal 5, 24 || 21-22 cfr Mt 11, 12

9-10 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 1. CSEL, LVII, p. 360. PL, XXXIII, 960, 5.

onus graue et animi reputant passiones. Hii non tam necessitate ducti quam desiderio tracti, iugum Christi suauiissimum tollentes, tamquam portum tranquillitatis et «paradisum uoluptatis» uitam regularem preeligunt, non tamquam carcerem religionem habentes sed quasi de carcere huius seculi exeundo, et, quasi onagri dimisi, liberi in libertate 5 spiritus respirantes et multitudinem ciuitatis contempnentes, tingentes buccellam suam in aceto dominice passionis, ut, appetitu animi confortato, sicut adipe et pinguedine repleatur anima eorum, Christi quam baiulant crucem et cuiuscumque penitentiae asperitatem summas reputant delicias, et holocaustum eorum pingue fiat et delectabile quasi 10 manna deserti et panis celestis omne delectamentum in se habens et omnis saporis suauitatem.

## CAPITULUM XXXIII

DE DIUERSIS  
SECULARIUM PERSONARUM ORDINIBUS.  
IN PRIMO DE REGULA PRESBYTERORUM

Non solum hos qui seculo renunciant et transeunt ad religionem regulares iudicamus, sed et omnes Christi fideles, sub euangelica regula domino famulantes et ordinate sub uno summo et supremo abbate uiuentes, possumus dicere regulares. Habent enim clerici et sacerdotes 20 in seculo commorantes regulam suam et proprias ordinis sui obseruan-

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6 multitudine *C* | ciuitatem *C*, ciuitates *D* | contempnentes *om.* *CD* | cingentes *C* || 7 passionis *add.* tingentes *C* || 7-8 confortatiuo *C*, confortatio *D* || 8 pinguedine *add.* et *D* | quam] cuius *C* || 10 et<sup>1</sup>] ut *Mo* | et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *A* || 16 in] et *CD Mo* || 17 solum *add.* autem *A* || 18 regula] doctrina *A*

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2 cfr Mt 11,30 || 3 Gen 2,8 || 5 cfr Jb 39,5 || 6-7 cfr Ru 2,14 || 8 cfr Ps 62,6 || 10 cfr Ps 19,4 || 11-12 cfr Sap 16,20

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17-20 For the concept that all the laity follow a rule, that of the Gospel, see Gerhoh von Reichersberg (d. 1169), *Liber de aedificio Dei*, c. 43, PL, CXC, 1302. In the medieval period certain groups of people were considered to form an *ordo* and not a *status*, such as knights and married people (Chenu, p. 241).

tias et institutiones. Pari modo proprius est ordo coniugatorum, alius autem uiduarum et alius uirginum. Sed et milites, mercatores et agricolae et artifices et alia hominum multiformia genera proprias et a se inuicem differentes habent regulas et institutiones secundum  
 5 diuersa talentorum genera a domino sibi commendata, ut, ex personis diuersarum facierum et quasi ex uariis membris a se inuicem propriis officiis multipharie differentibus, sub Christo capite unum corpus ecclesie compingatur, ut tunica polimita uerus Ioseph induatur et regina uarietate circumdata a dextris eius consistat, quae uariis man-  
 10 sionibus ad terram promissionis ualeat peruenire.

### <DE ORDINE PRESBYTERORUM>

Non autem arbitramur aliquam regularium quantumcumque stricte uiuentium religionem uel ordinem magis dominum acceptare quam ordinem sacerdotum super gregem suum fideliter et sollicitè uigilantium, quibus dominus tamquam propriis dispensatoribus domus sue  
 15 clauis commisit et quasi yconomos super familiam suam constituit, ut dent illis cibum in tempore, quibus funes in preclaris ceciderunt. Qui enim bene presunt presbyteri, ut ait apostolus, duplici honore digni habendi sunt.

Horum autem sancta et deo amabilis regula quadripartita est, et  
 20 dispensationis eorum supereminens ordo principaliter circa quatuor consistit: quorum primum est, pro se et pro omni populo dei domino supplicare, pro uiuis et defunctis sine intermissione orare, horas canonicas tamquam iuge sacrificium in odorem suauitatis cum humilitate et deuotione domino offerre.

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2 et<sup>1</sup> om. A | et<sup>3</sup> om. ACD Mo || 3 proprias CD Mo, propria AB || 4 a] in C || 7 corpus] caput A || 11 arbitramur om. CD || 12 acceptare add. credimus C || 14 quibus] quos D, quibus Mo || 15 quasi om. Mo | supra CD || 16 det Mo | illi Mo || 17 presunt] possunt CD | presunt add. dici C || 18 sunt habendi Mo || 19 autem sancta ACD Mo, sancta autem B | regula] religio A || 20 circa] contra C || 21 omni om. Mo | domino om. Mo || 22 orare om. A || 24 domino om. Mo

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9 cfr Ps 44, 10 || 15-16 cfr Mt 24, 45 || 16 cfr Ps 15, 6 || 17-18 cfr 1 Tim 5, 17



## &lt;DE ORATIONE&gt;

Accipiat igitur sacerdos «in manu sua thuribulum» exemplo Aaron, et hausto igne de altari, stans inter mortuos et uiuentes, offerat thimiama domino et deprecetur pro populo. Inuocet nomen domini et consurgat et teneat eum et in tempore iracundie fiat reconciliatio. Stet igitur in confractione in conspectu domini, tanto confidentius, 5 quanto benignius dominus, qui non uult mortem peccatoris et nichil odit eorum que fecit, querit materiam seu occasionem ignoscendi, quemadmodum per Ezechielem prophetam, ipse dicit: «Quesiui de eis uirum qui interponeret se sepe et staret oppositus contra me et non inueni.» Verbis autem suis stateram faciat et musicam non impediat 10 sed orationi sue bonam uitam adiciendo pondus tribuat. «Opposuiisti», inquit dominus, «nubem ne transeat oratio». Et iterum per Ysaïam prophetam: «Cum multiplicaueritis orationem non exaudiam, manus enim uestre plene sunt sanguine.» Studeat igitur leuare puras manus ad dominum. Cum enim is qui displicet ad intercedendum mittitur, 15 irati animus ad deteriora prouocatur. Quoniam autem peccatores non exaudit deus, iniquitatem si aspexerit in corde suo non exaudiet dominus. Non enim omnis qui dicit: «Domine, domine», introibit in regnum celorum. Et quoniam scriptum est: «Qui indeuotus orat, iudicium sibi postulat, clauso ostio sensuum oret infra cordis tranquilli 20 cubiculum, ne forte musce morientes perdant suauitatem unguenti.» «Orabo», inquit apostolus, «spiritu, orabo et mente, psallam spiritu, psallam et mente».

Non igitur ita negligenter oret quod iteret uerbum in oratione. Non autem oportebit iterare, si diligenter studuerit uerba proferre, ut 25

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1 igitur] ergo *A* || 4 et<sup>2</sup>] ut *A* || 5 dei *CD* || 8 ipse] dominus *A* || 9 interponet *C* | se *om.* *A* | et<sup>2</sup>] sed *CD* || 11 uitam bonam *A* || 12 transiret *A* || 13 multiplicaueris *C* || 14 puras manus leuare *A* | manus puras *C* || 15 is *ACD Mo*, hiis *B* || 17 exaudit] exaudiet *A*, exaudiuit *D* | aspexit *ACD Mo* | in corde suo si aspexit *CD* || 18 intrabit *A Vulg.* || 20 intra *C* || 21 mouentes *D* || 24 oret *ACD*, orent *B*, *om.* *Mo*

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1 Ez 8, 11 || 2-3 cfr 2 Par 13, 11 || 3-4 cfr Is 64, 7 || 4 cfr Eccli 44, 17 || 5-6 cfr Ps 105, 23 || 6 cfr Ez 33, 11 || 6-7 cfr Sap 11, 25 || 8-10 cfr Ez 22, 30 || 10 cfr Eccli 28, 29 || 11-12 cfr Thren 3, 44 || 13-14 Is 1, 15 || 14 cfr 1 Tim 2, 8 || 16-17 cfr Jo 9, 31 || 17-18 cfr Ps 65, 18 || 18-19 cfr Mt 7, 21 || 19-21 Mt 6, 6 || 21 cfr Eccle 10, 1 || 22-23 1 Cor 14, 15

dictiones non sincopet. Neque syllabas aut dictiones aut perfectas orationes domino furari presumat, nimium festinando more quorundam insipientium sacerdotum qui, dominum labiis honorantes, cor eorum ad uana et inutilia irreuerenter conuertunt. Si loquaris de musca  
 5 uel pulice, cogitas de ipsis; loquens autem de domino uel cum domino, de ipso non cogitabis? Quomodo autem amicus tuus ad te uocatus ueniret, si ab ipso a te inuitato fugiendo recederes? Vt igitur deum inuitatum presentem inuenias, caue ne cor tuum a te ipso discedens a facie domini fugiat, ne, dum posueris in celum os tuum, lingua  
 10 cordis tui in terram transeat. Seculari autem domino non auderes ita irreuerenter loqui et festinanter. Maledictus autem qui opus dei facit negligenter.

Audiuimus autem quibusdam referentibus, quod, cum inimicus noster, accusator fratrum et humani generis calumpniator impius,  
 15 cuidam uiro spirituali in choro monachorum psallentium quasi grauiter honeratus appareret, fratri querenti quid portaret, quasi sacco pleno super humeros eius imposito, respondit sathan: «Hee sunt syllabe in psalmodia monachis istis sincopate, dictiones etiam et uersus psal-  
 morum quos hac nocte tamquam fures a dei seruitio subtraxerunt, de  
 20 quibus reddituri sunt rationem.»

De hiis autem Salomon ait: «Cor fatui quasi uas confractum omnem sapientiam non retinebit.» Vas confractum et rimosum lutum retinet, aquam puram et liquidam retinere non ualet. Pari modo hii miseri immunda et obscena in corde suo uersant, puram autem aquam  
 25 spiritualis intelligentie non retinent tamquam cribrum quod puram

1 distinctiones *Mo* || 3 cor *add.* autem *A* || 3-4 cor eorum] corda sua *C* || 4 loqueris *CD Mo* || 5 cogitas *ACD Mo*, cogitans *B* | de<sup>2</sup>] cum *A* | cum] de *A* || 6 quando *D* || 7 ab *om.* *CD Mo* | recederes fugiendo *A* || 8 inuenias] habeas *A* | discordans *CD* || 9 ponis *CD Mo* || 11 maledictus *ACD Mo*, maledictos *B* || 11-12 negligenter facit *Mo* || 13 autem] enim *A* || 14 impius *om.* *Mo* || 15 cuidam] caudam *D* || 16 pleno *om.* *A* || 18 psalmodiis *A* | psalmodia *add.* a *A* | a monachis istis in psalmodiis *A* || 21 de *om.* *CD* || 22 ruinosum *A* || 23 modi *Mo* || 24 suo *om.* *CD Mo* | uersatio *D*

3 cfr Mt 15, 8 || 9 cfr Jon 1, 10 || 9-10 cfr Ps 72, 9 || 11-12 cfr Jer 48, 10 || 21-22 cfr Eccli 21, 17

13-20 After the time of Jacques de Vitry the anecdote is repeated by Stephen of Bourbon, Lecoy, *Anecdotes*, n° 212, p. 184, and by John Bromyard, Wright, n° 46, pp. 44, 225.

similam dimittit, puluerem autem retinet et abscondit, quemadmodum Salomon ait: «Sicut puluis in pertusura cribri, si capporiatio hominis in cogitatu ipsius.»

Quoniam autem deus spiritus est, in spiritu et ueritate non in multiloquio et strepitu uerborum oportet eum adorare, quemadmodum 5 in euangelio dicit dominus: «Orantes nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici, putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur.» Et beatus euangelista Marcus: «Qui deuorant domos uiduarum sub optentu prolixie orationis, hii accipient prolixius iudicium.» «Veraciter enim orare est», ut ait beatus Gregorius, «amaros ex compunctione gemitus, non composita 10 uerba resonare». Unde dominus in Iob loquens de behemoth sic ait: «Non parcam ei uerbis potentibus et ad deprecandum compositis.» Orante igitur sacerdote, caput hostie retorqueatur ad collum, animus scilicet ad uocem, ut lingua meditetur et cor loquatur, sicut scriptum est: «Lingua mea meditabitur iustitiam tuam.» Et in Ecclesiastico: 15 «In corde sapientium os illorum est.» Diligenter igitur in oratione uigilet, ut omnis carnalis strepitus absistat. Intentio cordis sincera deum non sono uocis sed sensu animi oret, ut abigat aues importunas exemplo Abraham a sacrificio suo.

Ad imitationem uero domini ascendat in montem solus orare, ut 20 sursum corda habeat ad dominum. Ante orationem preparet animam suam, ut non sit quasi homo qui temptat deum. «Orante autem domino», ut ait Lucas euangelista, «facta est facies eius altera». Si igitur uane et inutiles cogitationes tamquam Egypti cinifes circa mentis oculos uolauerint, tanto magis in oratione perseueret. Sicut 25 de ceco legimus in euangelio, quò clamante ad dominum, quanto magis ipsum turba increpabat ut taceret, tanto amplius clamabat.

2 ait *desinit* D | sicut puluis *marg.* D | puluis *desinit* C | pertusura A Mo, pertisura B, percussura *Vulg.* || 3 illius A || 4 in<sup>2</sup> om. A || 5 eum] enim Mo || 6 dominus dicit A || 11 de] ad A || 12 eis Mo || 14 lingua] cor A | cor] lingua A || 17 strepitus om. A || 18 dominum A | abiget A || 20 uero om. A || 23 euangelista om. A | eius *add.* quasi A || 24 tamquam] uelut A || 27 turba ipsum Mo

2-3 cfr Eccli 27, 5 || 4-5 cfr Jo 4, 24, Mt 6, 7 || 6-7 cfr Mt 6, 7 || 8-9 Mc 12, 40 || 12 cfr Jb 41, 3 || 13 cfr Lev 1, 15 || 15 Ps 34, 28 || 16 Eccli 21, 29 || 20 cfr Mt 14, 23 || 21-22 cfr Eccli 18, 23 || 22-23 Lc 9, 29 || 26-27 cfr Mt 20, 31

9-11 The citation has not been identified.

Si enim spiritus potestatem habentis supra ipsum ascenderit propter hoc locum suum non deserat, sed tota nocte sicut Iacob luctetur cum domino donec imminente aurora benedicatur ab ipso, ut melior sit finis orationis quam principium. Nam si dominus aliquando fingit se  
 5 longius ire, nichilominus cogendus est nobiscum remanere. Quemadmodum uidua illa euangelica per importunitatem optinuit quod petebat apud iniquum iudicem, qui nec timebat deum nec reuerebatur hominem, quanto magis pius et misericors dominus, licet cum pueris suis in cubili suo quiescat, si pulsando perseuerauerit, dabit ei panes  
 10 quotquot habet necessarios? Postulet autem in fide, nichil hesitans sed diligenter attendens, ne in aliquo conscientia eum remordeat uel alicuius criminis eum accuset aut reprehendat.

Nec simpliciter pro terrenis sed pro spiritualibus et eternis deprecetur, ut cordis thuribulum inferius clausum, superius sit apertum,  
 15 et sicut precipit dominus super patenam auream cum panibus propositionis thus ponatur et thimiama boni odoris in conspectu domini suauiter accendatur, quemadmodum in Ecclesiastico sapiens ait: «Oblatio iusti impinguat altare, odor suauitatis est in conspectu altissimi.» Et quoniam scriptum est: «Oratio humiliantis se nubes  
 20 penetrabit, et donec propinquat non consolabitur, et non discedet donec aspiciat altissimus», tamquam uir uidens paupertatem suam et non tamquam phariseus merita iactans, in spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito coram domino in oratione prosternatur, ut uasa uacua uerus impleat Helyseus.

25 Vt igitur Christi minister in orationibus diligentissime uigilet, ante mentis oculos tamquam memoriale perpetuum appensum habeat, quantum ualeat deprecatio iusti assidua et quanta sit pure orationis uirtus et efficacia de corde perfecto et conscientia non ficta, que quasi nuntius intromittitur et illic iter peragit quo caro pergere nequit.  
 30 Sicut enim miles inermis ad prelia, sic sine oratione christianus ad omnia. Orationibus enim mundamur, lectionibus instruimur, utrumque

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1 ascendit *A* || 7-8 hominem reuerebatur *A* || 11 eum conscientia *A* || 12 aut ] uel *A* || 21 respiciat *A* || 25 Christi *om. Mo* || 27 fit *A Mo* || 29 pergit *A*

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2-3 cfr Gen 32, 24-29 || 4-5 cfr Lc 24, 28-29 || 6-8 cfr Lc 18, 2-5 || 8-10 cfr Lc 11, 7-8 || 18-19 cfr Eccli 35, 8 || 19-21 Eccli 35, 21 || 21 cfr Thren 3, 1 || 22-23 Dan 3, 39 || 23-24 cfr 4 Rg 4, 3-6 || 27 cfr Jac 5, 16

bonum est, si uacat. Si autem non uacat, melius est orare quam legere. Oratio siquidem deum lenit, lacrima cogit. Hec ungit, illa pungit.

Cum autem diligenter orat christianus, demones acceduntur, uires perdunt et confusi fugiunt. Orationibus Iacobi apostoli, tamquam igne, maligni spiritus succendebantur. Orante Moyse in monte et manus eleuante, Amalech uincebatur. Apostolorum precibus Petri socrus a febribus est sanata et filia mulieris chananee a demonio liberata. Et precibus aliorum paraliticus a domino curatus est, et surdus etiam et mutus restitutus est sanitati. Ad preces Marie et Marthe suscitatus est Lazarus. Orationibus Anne, propheta Samuel est conceptus. Vnde dominus ad amicos Iob ait: «Iob seruus meus orabit pro uobis, faciem eius suscipiam, ut non uobis imputetur stultitia.» Et apostolus Iacobus: «Infirmatur quis ex uobis, inducat presbyteros ecclesie et orent super eum.»

Caueat autem super omnia sacerdos, ne oratio eius fiat illi in peccatum, ne, dum uenales exponit preces suas, lingua eius transeat in terram. Si enim iniquitatem auaritie aspexerit in corde suo, non exaudiet dominus sed, sicut dicitur in propheta, respondebit: «Incensum uestrum abhominatio est michi.» Habeat igitur in pedibus affectuum sandalia superius ad deum aperta, inferius autem claudantur, et soleis contra terram muniantur, teste enim beato Gregorio: «Apud deum despecta est hostia confessionis quam facit prosperitas temporalis.» Et beatus Augustinus: «Qui deum petit ut aliud assequatur non deum querit sed quod adipisci concupiscit».

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1 est<sup>2</sup> *A Mo, om. B* || 5 succenduntur *A* | Moysi *A* || 6 uincebantur *A* || 9 reditus *A* || 11 conceptus est *A* || 13 ex ] in *A Vulg.* || 20 dominum *Mo* || 21 muniantur *AQ*, minuantur *B*, muniatur *JRS Mo* || 21–22 despecta est apud deum *A* || 23 assequatur *JR Mo*, exequatur *ABHQ*S

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11–13 Jb 42, 8 || 13–14 Jac 5, 14 || 16–17 cfr Ps 72, 9 || 17–18 cfr Ps 65, 18 || 18–19 cfr Is 1, 13

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4–5 The source of this incident in the legend of Saint James has not been identified. In the *Libellus miraculorum Sancti Jacobi apostoli*, attributed to Pope Calixtus II, there are references to demons and fire but not in any context as reported by Jacques de Vitry. PL, CLXIII, cc. 38, 41. See Saint Luke 9, 54. || 21–24 The two citations have not been identified.

## &lt;DE HORIS CANONICIS&gt;

Licet autem sacerdos priuatas orationes et secretas deprecationes, uariis circa curas animarum occupationibus intentus, possit aliquando dimittere, horas tamen canonicas non debet omittere. Alie enim orationes sunt uoluntatis, hee autem necessitatis.

- 5 Procuret igitur diligenter, in quantum commissi sibi gregis permittit frequens ministerium, ut nocturnum officium nocte peragatur, diurnum autem certis et determinatis horis de die perficiatur. Non enim debet diurnum officium confundere neque noctem in diem conuertere. Conceditur tamen eis ratione frequentis amministrationis ad cautelam  
10 tempus determinatum quandoque preuenire, non autem absque magna et urgente necessitate preterire.

Sufficit autem sacerdoti canonicis horis, beate Marie uirginis horas supererogando causa deuotionis addere. Officium insuper pro defunctis non debet omittere. Non minus enim quantum ad hoc obligatur  
15 mortuis quorum elemosinas recepit, quam uiuis quorum curam in animam suam suscepit. Tanto enim cum maioris miserationis affectu debet mortuis succurrere, quanto sibi post hanc uitam non possunt subuenire. Debita igitur subsidia, que per fraudem uel negligentiam sacerdotes mortuis subtrahunt, in igne purgatorii penaliter complebunt.

- 20 Quoniam autem nocte mandauit dominus canticum sibi et coronam promisit uigilantibus, media nocte surgat sacerdos ad confitendum nomini domini, qui media nocte, percussis primogenitis Egypti, filios Israel liberauit, qui media nocte natus est pro nobis, qui media nocte captus est a iudeis, media etiam nocte ad iudicium uenturum se  
25 predixit. Diluculo autem laudes matutine domino regulariter sunt soluende, ut preueniamus solem ad benedictionem, et hora illa qua surrexit a mortuis immolemus domino sacrificium laudis. Post hec uero prima, tertia, sexta, nona et undecima seu uespertina hora non sileat sacerdos a laudibus dei, qui tamquam operarius predictis horis

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5 sibi commissi *A* || 7 debent *A* || 8 diurnum] diuinum *Mo* | diem in noctem *A* || 13 supererogando *Mo* || 19 purgatorio *A Mo* || 20 dominus *JRQ Mo Vulg., om. ABHS* || 23 nocte<sup>2</sup> *om. A* || 24 raptus *Mo* | nocte *add. se A* | se *om. A* || 25 autem *add. ad B* || 26 persoluendae *Mo* || 27 iubilemus *AQS*

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20 cfr Ps 41, 9 || 21-22 cfr Ps 118, 62; 121, 4 || 22 cfr Ex 12, 29 || 27 cfr Ps 49,14 || 29-p. 173, 1 cfr Mt 20, 2

mittitur ad uineam domini. Sicut autem mane surgendo primum petiit regnum dei, sacrificium matutinum hore prime immolando domino, ita et officio completorii diurnum officium diligenter compleat, ut non solum caput sed et caudam domino offerat.

Non solum autem ipsas horas sed et causas et fines horarum in 5 corde distinguat. Prima enim hora ante Pilatum ductus est dominus, tertia morti adiudicatus, sexta crucifixus, nona in cruce mortuus, uespere de cruce depositus et sepultus. Hora autem completorii surgens de cena abiit cum discipulis trans torrentem Cedron, ubi factus in agonia prolixius orauit. Eadem etiam hora missi sunt milites, ut 10 custodirent sepulchrum.

#### 〈DE OFFICIO MISSE〉

In officio misse tanto deuotius in conspectu domini debet sacerdos cum omni reuerentia assistere et profunda misteria diligenter attendere, quanto constat hoc sacrificium laudis ceteris omnibus incomparabiliter preeminere, in quo tam pro uiuis quam pro defunctis fiunt 15 obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, et gratiarum actiones: obsecrationes cum adiuratione; orationes sine adiuratione et cum laude specialiter pro malis amouendis; postulationes pro bonis adipiscendis; gratiarum actiones pro bonis adeptis.

#### 〈INTROITUS〉

In introitu misse introitum Christi in mundum deuotissime atten- 20 dat, uel gaudium expectantibus et desiderium quod habuerunt multi reges et prophete, cupientes uidere Christi aduentum in carne et non uiderunt.

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1 ad ] in *A Vulg.* || 3 officio ] officium *A* | diurnum ] diuinum *A* || 12 officio *add.* autem *Mo* || 15 fiunt *A Mo*, fuerint *B* || 16-17 et ... orationes *om.* *JR Mo* | actiones *add.* pro bonis adipiscendis *S* || 18 spiritaliter *A* || 21 expectationis *Mo* || 22 uidere cupientes *A*

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9 cfr Jo 18, 1 || 9-10 cfr Lc 22, 43 || 10-11 cfr Mt 27, 66 || 16 cfr 1 Tim 2, 1 || 21-23 cfr Lc 10, 24

## &lt;KYRIE ELEISON&gt;

Trinam autem repetitionem cum gloria ad laudem et trinitatem referat personarum, uel ad multiplicationem desiderii et clamoris patrum antiquorum. Dum «kyrie eleison» canitur, misericordia domini post eius aduentum postuletur, ac si dicat sacerdos: «Domine miserere  
 5 nostri, te expectauimus», quemadmodum propheta predixit: «Tu exsurgens domine misereberis Syon, quia uenit tempus miserendi eius.» Nouies autem repetatur, ut nouem angelorum ordinibus populus fidelium societetur. Primus autem ternarius ad patrem, secundus ad filium, tertius ad spiritum sanctum deuotissime referatur.

## &lt;GLORIA&gt;

10 Quando autem «Gloria in excelsis deo» cantatur, ad angelum, Christi natiuitatis nuntium, mentis oculus habeatur. Dum autem chorus subcinendo residuum prosequitur, «multitudo militie celestis» exercitus que facta est cum angelo diligenter attendatur. Nichilominus tamen dum predictus hymnus canitur, pro inuentione dragme  
 15 perditae, deuotus sacerdos, in dei laude exultando, domino congratuletur.

## &lt;DOMINUS UOBISCUM&gt;

Dum autem «Dominus uobiscum» uel «Pax uobis» postea dicitur, non solum populum ore salutando pacem eius et salutem corde desideret, sed insuper sacerdotem magnum qui pacem et salutem mundum  
 20 ingrediens nobis attulit mente consideret. Septies autem in missa populum salutando, septiformem spiritus sancti gratiam, expulsis septem principalibus uitiiis, a domino studeat impetrare.

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3 domini] eius *AQS* || 4 post] per *JR Mo* | eius *om. AQS* | aduentum *add. suum AQS* || 5 te *add. enim A Mo* || 6 exsurgens *om. A* | uenit *om. JR Mo* || 9 tertius *add. autem Mo* || 10 decantatur *Mo* || 11 natiuitatis Christi *A* || 14 tamen *om. Mo* || 15-16 congratulentur *Mo* || 17 post ea *Mo* || 19 mundi *Mo* || 21 sancti *om. A*

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5-7 cfr Ps 101, 14 || 12 Lc 2, 13 || 14-16 cfr Lc 15, 9 || 21 cfr Is 11, 2-3



## 〈ORATIONES〉

Dum autem orationes seu collectas subiungit, nouerit se legatione  
 fungi ad dominum pro populi collectione seu multitudine et omnium  
 petitiones seu necessitates coram oculis domini colligere. Reducat  
 autem ad memoriam dei et hominum mediatorem qui, pro nobis  
 legationem suscipiens, in diebus carnis sue preces supplicationesque 5  
 ad deum qui saluum illum posset facere a morte cum clamore ualido  
 et lacrimis offerens, exauditus est in omnibus pro sua reuerentia.  
 Dum autem in fine subiungit: «Per dominum nostrum Ihesum Chri-  
 stum», illud in mente impressum habeat quod dicit in euangelio  
 dominus: «Quidquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo, dabit uobis.» 10  
 Ne autem populo fastidium generet, septenarium numerum in collectis  
 non excedat, cum dicat dominus in euangelio: «Cum oratis, nolite  
 multum loqui sicut ethnici faciunt.» Vnam autem uel tres dicendo,  
 unitatis uel trinitatis attendat misterium; quinque contra quinque  
 sensuum peccata, attendendo quinquepartitam domini passionem; 15  
 septem uero propter septem criminalia delenda, postulando septi-  
 formis spiritus gratiam. Dum autem in oratione leuat manus ad  
 deum, querendo que sursum sunt non que super terram, ante mentis  
 oculos habeat, qualiter, expansis in cruce manibus, Christus pro nobis  
 exorauit. Dum enim uerus Moyses manus eleuauit, Amalech in prelio 20  
 occubuit.

## 〈EPISTOLA〉

Dum autem epistola ante euangelium recitatur, discipuli domini ad  
 memoriam reuocentur, quos binos misit dominus ante faciem suam  
 in omni loco quo erat ipse uenturus. In quo etiam precursoris atten-  
 datur officium, qui precessit parare uiam domini. Sicut enim umbra 25  
 lucem, ita lex euangelium precessit.

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6 deum ] eum *Mo Vulg.* || 10 dominus *om. A* || 11 fastidium populo *A* || 13 aut  
*A* || 14 aut *A* | contra *HJR Mo*, cantica *ABQS* || 20 orauit *Mo* | eleuaret *Mo* ||  
 21 decubuit *Mo* || 22 dicitur *A* || 23 ante faciem suam dominus *A* || 25 enim  
*om. A*

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5-7 cfr Hebr 5, 7 || 10 cfr Jo 16, 23 || 12-13 cfr Mt 6, 7 || 16-17 cfr Is 11, 2-3 ||  
 18 cfr Col 3, 1-2 || 23-24 cfr Lc 10, 1 || 25 cfr Is 40, 3, Mt 3, 3,

〈GRADUALE, TRACTUS, ALLELUIA〉

- Dum autem graduale sequitur, attendat prudens sacerdos quod post Iohannis predicationem Christum apostoli secuti sunt. Graduale etiam, quod penitentium lamentum insinuat qui in hac ualle lacrimarum ascensiones in corde suo disponunt, ut gradientur de uirtute in uirtute, post epistolam sequitur. Iohannes enim et discipuli domini penitentiam predicabant in remissionem peccatorum. Dicitur autem graduale responsorium, quia non solum uerbo sed opere penitentiam agendo predicationi Iohannis est respondendum. Alleluia post graduale cantatur, canticum scilicet letitiae post luctum penitentiae. Post gradus
- 5 humilitatis gaudium contemplationis, quasi consolatio post luctum et requies contemplatiue post labores actiue, quod iubilando potius exprimimus quam canendo. Tractus autem, cuius singule note signant suspiria tam asperitate uocum quam prolixitate, presentis exilii miseriam et incolatum designat.
- 10

〈EUANGELIUM〉

- 15 In lectione euangelii attendat sacerdos non iam prophetas loquentes sed ipsum Christum predicantem. Quia uero non uenit uocare iustos sed peccatores ad penitentiam legitur ad partem sinistram. Qui autem ad imitationem Christi euangelium predicat uel legit, habeat semper ante oculos cereos, id est, lucem gratiae, crucem scilicet dominice
- 20 passionis, fidem et incensum deuotionis. Non honoretur puluinari temporalium sed ei subdiaconus ministret, ut liceat ei recipere temporalia ubi seminat spiritualia. Librum autem osculetur apertum, quia datum est ei nosse misterium regni celorum.

〈CREDO〉

- Dum autem post euangelium sacerdos symbolum cantat, quod prius
- 25 euangelizatum est se credere designat. Corde enim, dum legitur euan-

2 secuti sunt apostoli *A* || 3 lamentum penitentium *A* | insinuat ] sonat *AQS* ||  
 11 quies *A* | laborem *A* || 17 ad penitentiam *om.* *AHJR Mo* || 18 uel legit  
*om.* *A* || 22 seminavit *A* | spiritualia seminavit *A*

3-5 cfr Ps 83, 6-8 || 16-17 cfr Lc 5, 32 || 23 cfr Mt 13, 11 || 25-p. 177, 1 cfr Rom 10, 10

gelium, creditur ad iustitiam, post hec uero ore fit confessio ad salutem. Simbolum autem interpretatur collectio, eo quod in ipso articuli fidei colliguntur. Ipsum autem apostoli composuerunt, quorum unusquisque bolum, id est, particulam, apposuit. Petrus: Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre. Andreas: Et in Ihesum 5 Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum. Iacobus: Qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine. Iohannes: Passus est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus. Philippus: Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Bartholomeus: Ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis. Thomas: 10 Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Matheus: Credo in spiritum sanctum. Iacobus: Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem. Symon: Remissionem peccatorum. Thaddeus: Carnis resurrectionem. Mathias: Vitam eternam.

#### ⟨OFFERTORIUM⟩

Quoniam autem «fides sine operibus mortua est», post symbolum 15 sequitur offertorium, ut nos et nostra deo offeramus. Offerenda enim cantatur, quia «sacrificium laudis» offertur. Sic igitur, audis ut credas, et credis ut hostia fias. Omnia que secuntur, ad memoriam dominice passionis et resurrectionis referuntur. Vnde dominus in cena: «Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.» Igitur sacerdos in canone misse 20 mortem Christi semper habeat in corde, secundum quod dicit apostolus: «Quotiescumque manducaueritis panem hunc, et calicem bibetis, mortem domini annuntiabitis donec ueniat.» Sic ergo ad mensam domini deuote et reuerenter assistat, ac si ipsum dominum ante oculos suos uideret immolatum, omnia que fiunt in canone, siue sint uerba 25 siue signa, ad Christi passionem uel resurrectionem referendo. In

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1 ore *om.* *Mo* || 10 in caelum *Mo* || 11 est *A Mo, om. B* || 14 eternam *add.* Amen *A* || 17 laudis] deo *JR Mo* || 18 et *om. A* || 19 cena *add.* dixit *A* || 22 panem hunc manducaueritis *A* | biberitis *A*

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15 Jac 2, 20 || 17 Ps 49, 14 || 19–20 Lc 22, 19 || 22–23 cfr 1 Cor 11, 26

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4–14 cfr H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 34th ed., rev., A. Schönmetzer, Freiburg i. Br., 1967, n° 30.

primo autem silentio ad memoriam reducat silentium illud quo dominus, imminente passione, siluit et secessit de ciuitate in ciuitatem Effrem. Deinde faciem obfirmavit, ut iret in Iherusalem, et manifeste predicauit in templo. Vnde sacerdos alta uoce pronunciat prefationem.

〈SANCTUS〉

- 5 Dum autem a choro canitur: «Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth», ad memoriam reuocetur laus et honor quem Christo exhibuerunt pueri hebreorum procedentes ei obuiam.

〈CANON〉

- In silentio autem subsequente memoriter teneatur illud silentium, in quo cum discipulis suis factus est in agonia prolixius orans. Et  
 10 quoniam se tradi et in cruce exaltari permisit, in secreto illo et calix et hostia eleuatur, et sacerdos pectus tundit in memoriam eorum, qui, uidentes terremotum et alia mirabilia, tundentes pectora sua reuertebantur. Finito silentio, dum sacerdos «Per omnia secula» dicit alta uoce, ad memoriam reuocet clamorem Christi et eius orationes in  
 15 cruce. Dum corporale deponitur de calice, ante oculos habeat depositionem Christi de cruce. Apertio calicis apertionem scripturarum significat, uelo templi scisso. Dum autem iterum operitur, attendere debet, qualiter Christi corpus syndone fuit inuolutum in sepulchro, uel quia per calicem Christi sepulchrum designatur. Corporalium amotio  
 20 reuolutionem lapidis a monumento designat. Patena autem, que dicitur a patendo, cor latum et amplitudinem caritatis significat. Cum autem patena operitur et absconditur, fuga et latibulum apostolorum memoratur. Sacerdos autem resumit et osculatur patenam, Christus enim, resumens oues que aufugerant, stetit in medio discipulorum dicens  
 25 eis: «Pax uobis.»

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1 istud *Mo* || 2 de ciuitate *om.* *JR Mo* || 5 a ] in *A* | sanctus<sup>2</sup> ... sabaoth *om.* *AQS* || 9 suis *om.* *A* | est *om.* *A* || 10 calix *add.* postea *A* || 11 eleuatur et hostia *A* || 14 orationes eius *A* || 20 autem *om.* *A* || 21 designat *A* || 22 cooperitur *A* || 24 dicens ] et dixit *A*

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9 cfr *Lc* 22, 43 || 17 cfr *Mt* 27, 51 || 18 cfr *Mt* 27, 59 || 24–25 cfr *Lc* 24, 36

〈COMMUNIO〉

In silentio autem post dominicam orationem ante mentis oculos habeatur silentium illud quo fuit in sepulchro. Post quod silentium dicitur: «Pax domini», et per ecclesiam pacis osculum mutuo datur. Christus enim resurgens pacem dedit discipulis, que diffusa est per uniuersam ecclesiam.

5

〈POSTCOMMUNIO ET FINIS MISSE〉

Antiphona que post communionem canitur gratiarum est actio de perceptis beneficiis, et specialiter gaudium apostolorum de resurrectione innuit, quo gauisi sunt discipuli uiso domino. Quartum silentium post communionem silentium apostolorum expectantium aduentum paracleti reuocat ad memoriam. Per orationes que secuntur supplicationes apostolorum in conclauī residentium memorantur. Inde sacerdos, salutato populo, dicit: «Ite missa est», dominus enim, salutatis discipulis, ascendens in celum dedit eis licentiam reuertendi in Iherusalem et commorandi donec induerentur uirtute ex alto. Choro autem respondente: «Deo gratias», attendat sacerdos apostolos cum gaudio et gratiarum actione in Iherusalem regressos esse. Per hostiam autem que missa est ad patrem licentiam habemus redeundi in supernam Iherusalem. Missa etiam dicitur officium a dimittendo, finito enim officio, fideles ad propria reuertendi dimittuntur. Sacerdos in fine benedicit populum, Christus enim benedicens apostolis, eleuatis manibus ferebatur in celum.

10

15

20

〈DE CEREMONIIS MISSE〉

In hoc igitur sacro et reuerendo misse officio nil prorsus uacat a misterio. Non solum enim per uerba sed per signa passionis dominice

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1 mentis *om. Mo* || 2 quod post *A* || 3 mutuo datur osculum pacis *A* || 4 discipulis *add. suis A* || 9 post communionem silentium *om. Mo* | expectantium ] post *AQS* || 10 per ] post *A* || 11 memorentur *A* || 12 populo *A Mo, om. B* || 13 ascendit *A* || 17-18 Iherusalem supernam *A* || 18 etiam ] enim *A* | enim *om. A* || 19 reueri *A Mo* || 22 reuerende *A* || 23 dominice passionis *A*

excitatur memoria. Vnde frequenter cruces fiunt in canone, quarum numerum sacerdos diligenter debet attendere. Dum enim tres cruces facit, trinam Christi traditionem reducat ad memoriam. Traditus est enim a discipulo, traditus a patre, traditus a iudeis Pilato. Et insuper  
 5 iudei ter contra ipsum clamauerunt: «Crucifige.» Dum autem cruces quinque facit, quinque Christi uulnera ad memoriam reducat. Quando autem facit duas, uincula et uerba uel aquam et sanguinem ante mentis oculos habeat.

Dum autem altare undique incensatur, qualiter fracto alabastro  
 10 domus ecclesie repleta est ex odore unguenti memoratur. Dum sacerdos inclinatur, Christi humiliatio per carnis assumptionem innuitur. Dum Christi corpus osculatur, Iude proditoris osculum exprimitur. Osculatur insuper altare, librum et ministrum, per quod triplex pax, temporis scilicet et pectoris et eternitatis, designatur. A dextra parte  
 15 altaris transit ad sinistram et iterum reuertitur ad dexteram, Christus enim ad gentes transiens in fine mundi reuersurus est ad iudeos.

Manus lauat sacerdos in principio, ut inquinamenta uitiorum ablunda esse demonstret. Lauat secundo manus hostias oblaturus iuxta illud: «Amplius laua me ab iniquitate mea.» Tertio manus abluit post  
 20 sumptum sacrificium, ut se tantis misteriis tractandis monstret indignum iuxta illud: «Cum omnia benefeceritis, dicite serui inutiles sumus.»

#### 〈DE VESTIMENTIS MISSE〉

Non solum autem hec predicta sed et uestes quibus induitur sacerdos in officio misse et ad decorem domus domini ipsum exornant et ad deuotionem incitant. Instruunt misterio, ut armis spiritualibus contra  
 25 spirituales nequitias muniatur in prelio. Nam ut ait apostolus: «Arma militie nostre non sunt carnalia sed ad destructionem munitionum potentia.» Et quoniam regina a dextris consistens uarietate circumdatur, diligenter procuret sacerdos, ut sicut sacris uestibus exterius

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3-4 enim est *Mo* || 6 reducit *A* || 7 duas facit *A* || 9 undique altare *A* || 14 scilicet et *om. A* | et<sup>1</sup> *om. Mo* | pectoris temporis *A* || 15 ad<sup>1</sup> ] in *A* || 24 incitant *add.* ipsum *A* || 25 muniatur *A Mo*, muniantur *B* | in ] de *Mo*

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9 Mc 14, 3 || 10 cfr Jo 12, 3 || 19 Ps 50, 4 || 21 cfr Mc 7, 37 | Lc 17, 10 || 23 cfr Ps 25, 8 || 24-25 cfr Eph 6, 12 || 25-27 cfr 2 Cor 10, 4 || 27-28 cfr Ps 44, 10

exornatur ita moribus honestis interius in anima induatur, quemadmodum scriptum est: «Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitiam.»

Primo igitur amictu tamquam «galea salutis in capite» muniatur, qui super humeros diffundatur, ut otio non marceat sed operibus fortitudinis et portandis honeribus insistat. Vt autem opus bonum 5 intentione et fine secundum deum informetur, duobus nastulis amictus ante pectus constringatur.

Post hec albam circa pectus conuenienter adaptet, ut uita sua et moribus superfluitatem deuitet. Sit autem alba, per munditiam operum candida, lata autem per iustitiam, ut quod suum est unicuique reddat. 10 Zona autem lumbi eius precingantur, ut, artam uiam ingressus, nec defluat luxuria nec pregrauetur ebrietate aut crapula.

Vt autem stolam iocunditatis et immortalitatis recuperet, orario super collum appposito, iugum domini suaue patienter ferat, ut in patientia sua animam suam possideat. Dependeat autem a dextro et 15 sinistro latere, ut, «per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris» premunitus, nec inaniter prosperis extollatur nec deprimatur aduersis.

In brachio autem sinistro manipulum seu mapulam dependentem deferat, ut, depulso presentis uite tepore uel tedio, quasi quodam uigilantie sudario mentis sudorem extergat et cordis torporem excutiat. 20 Non igitur ministri domini deficiant in labore sed semper in mente habeant, quod tandem uenientes uenient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.

Post hec induat casulam seu planetam. Hec est uestis nuptialis que designat caritatem que operit multitudinem peccatorum. Habeat igitur sacerdos amplitudinem caritatis, extendens duo brachia dilectionis a dextris et a sinistris, ad deum scilicet et ad proximum, et, ornatus intus omnium uirtutum ornamentis, uinculum perfecte caritatis super omnia habeat, quo perficere que desiderat, domino prestante, ualeat. 25

1 interius *om. A* || 6 finem *A* || 14 imposito *Mo* || 15 dependeat *A Mo*, dependat *B* || 17 aduersis deprimatur *A* || 18 mapulam] manipulam *JR Mo* || 19 tempore *Mo* || 20 uigilantie *JR Mo*, uigilante *ABHQS* || 24 siue *A* || 27 ornatus] enumeratis *Mo*

2 Ps 131, 9 || 3 Is 59, 17 || 10 cfr 1 Rg 26, 23 || 14 cfr Mt 11, 30 || 14–15 cfr Lc 21, 19 || 16 cfr 2 Cor 6, 7 || 22–23 cfr Ps 125, 6 || 25 cfr 1 Pet 4, 8 || 28 cfr Col 3, 14

13 cfr Breviarium Romanum, Resp. vi, Commune unius martyris. Eccli 45, 9. Missale Romanum, praeparatio ad Missam, Orationes dicendae cum sacerdos induitur sacerdotalibus paramentis; ad stolam. Pflieger, Pt, 1. p. 652.

## DE EPISCOPIS

Maiores autem sacerdotes, quos usualiter episcopos appellamus, sicut precellunt dignitate ita uirtutum ornamentis aliis debent preeminere.

5 Vnde quibusdam specialibus uestium insigniuntur ornamentis.

Habent enim pedes sandaliis calciatos in preparatione euangelii pacis, sicut scriptum est: «Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem». Habent autem subtus soleas in sandaliis, ne polluantur terrenis. Superius autem apertum est corium et quasi fenestratum, ut ad  
10 cognoscenda celestia cordis oculos aperiant. Et quoniam archana celestia quibusdam aperiri aliis autem abscondi debent, merito sandalia partim sunt clausa partim uero aperta. Vtuntur autem caligis circa genua constrictis, ut qui aliis predicat rectos faciat gressus suos et genua debilia corroboret.

15 Induitur autem tunica talari super albam, que poderis appellatur et significat perseuerantiam prelatorum; ceterae enim uirtutes in stadio currunt, perseuerantia autem accipit brauium.

Induitur postea dalmatica super tunicam, que manicas habet amplas et significat largitatem, ut non habeat prelatus manum porrectam ad  
20 accipiendum et ad dandum collectam; qui debet misericordiae operibus affluere et excutere manus suas ab omni munere. Vnde dalmatica specialiter utuntur diaconi, cuiusmodi elegerunt apostoli ad mini-

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5 specialium *A* | insigniuntur *A Mo*, insignuntur *B* || 6 sandaliis *A Mo*, scandaliis *B* || 8 sandaliis *A Mo*, scandaliis *B* || 13 qui *A Mo*, que *B* || 17 autem *A Mo*, om. *B* || 20 operibus misericordiae *Mo* || 22 utuntur specialiter *A*

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7 Rom 10,15 || 13 cfr Hebr 12,13 || 16-17 cfr 1 Cor 9,24 || 19-20 cfr Eccli 4,36 || 21 cfr Is 33,15

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2 For proposals about chapter reorganization see pp. 63-64. || 6, 8 *Ms. B* has the reading *scandaliis* here and *scandalia* on lines 11-12. The mode of spelling is quite rare, although Du Cange gives two examples of its use: a papal bull and the history of the translation of Saint Edmund of Canterbury.



strandum mensis. In sinistra parte dalmatica fimbrias solet habere iuxta illud: «Qui preest in sollicitudine.»

Habeat autem cyrothecas in manibus, scriptum est enim: «Attendite ne iustitiam uestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut uideamini ab eis.» Licet enim opus sit in aperto, intentio tamen debet esse in occulto, ut 5 nesciat sinistra quod faciat dextera.

Habeat in capite mitram, id est, utriusque testamenti scientiam, ut facies Moysi sit cornuta. Cornibus enim duorum testamentorum debet inimicos ecclesie uentilare.

Habeat autem anulum in digito, ut dicere possit uoce sponse: 10 «Anulo suo subarauit me dominus noster Ihesus Christus.» Non solum autem anulum, id est, fidei signaculum, in se debet habere, sed insuper animas subditorum uni uiro Christo procuret desponsare, quemadmodum dicit apostolus: «Despondi enim uos uni uiro uirginem castam 15 exhibere Christo.»

Habeat autem in manu baculum pastorem, baculum scilicet correctionis, sustentationis et attractionis: qui acutus est in imo, ut pungat pigros; in medio rectus, ut regat et sustentet debiles; in summo recuruus, ut attrahat peccatores et colligat uagos iuxta illud: «Collige, 20 sustenta, stimula, uaga, morbida, lenta.»

Preterea maiores episcopi, quos archiepiscopos appellant, super omnia uestimenta utuntur pallio laneo et candido, circulo quodam humeros constringente. In lana correctionis asperitas contra rebelles notatur. In candore benignitas erga humiles et penitentes designatur, ut habeat prelatus faciem leonis et faciem hominis. Circulus quo 25 humeri constringuntur timor domini est quo opera cohercentur, ut stringatur fasciculus ne paulatim defluat, quia qui modica negligit

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3 habeat *Mo*, *edit.*, habent *ABHQ*S || 6 quid *A* *Vulg.* || 7 habet *A* | habeat *add.* autem *A* || 9 debent *A* || 11 noster ] meus *Mo* || 13 uni *A* *Mo*, *om.* *B* || 17 est *om.* *A* || 19 curuus *A* | uagos | iratos *Mo* || 22 lineo *A* | quodam *add.* super *Mo* || 26 coercentur *A* *Mo*, coherrentur *B* || 27 minima *A*

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2 Rom 12, 8 || 3-4 Mt 6, 1 || 6 cfr Mt 6, 3 || 14-15 2 Cor 11, 2 || 27-p. 184, 1 cfr Eccli 19, 1

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11 cfr Breviarium Romanum, In festo Sanctae Agnetis, Jan. 21, ad Laudes, antiphona tertia. || 19-20 cfr Walther, Proverbia, n° 2943; Initia carminum, n° 3026, 3033. The inscription can be seen on a crozier dating from 1485 at the Abbey of Saint Peter, Salzburg.

- paulatim defluet. Habet autem quatuor cruces purpureas ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris. Prelatus enim debet habere uitam, scientiam, doctrinam et potestatem. Vel ad quatuor cardinales uirtutes referri possunt quatuor cruces, que fide passionis Christi sunt purpura-
- 5 rande, ut a parte anteriori sit iustitia, diligenter enim inspicere debet quod cuique reddendum sit, ut reddat unicuique quod suum est. A parte posteriori sit prudentia, ut caueat sibi et suis a dubiis et nociuis. A sinistris sit fortitudo, ne succumbat in aduersis; a dextris temperantia, ne effluat uel eleuetur in prosperis.
- 10 Sunt preterea in pallio due lineae, una ante pectus, ut contemplationi aliquando uacet, alia post dorsum, ut actiue uite pondera non recuset, ut Moyses aliquando in montem ascendat cum domino, aliquando commoretur in castris cum populo. Est autem pallium duplex in sinistra, fortitudine enim opus est in presenti uita propter multiplices
- 15 molestias, simplex autem in dextra per uniformitatem et quietem uite future.

Tres autem acus pallio infiguntur super humerum sinistrum, ante pectus, et post tergum, ut pungatur prelatus triplici timoris aculeo pene, culpe, et ignorantie. Vel pungatur in pectore, id est, in corde,

20 per contritionem et compassionem, in humero sinistro per laborum tollerantiam, in dorso per timorem. Si enim iustus uix saluabitur, impius ubi parebit? Quoniam autem in eterna beatitudine non est aculeus doloris, acus supra dextrum humerum non affigitur. Acus autem inferius pungit, superius est rotunda, qui enim pro Christo in

25 terris affligitur in eterna uita coronabitur.

<DE ADMINISTRATIONE SACRAMENTORUM: DISPOSITIONES GENERALES>

Secundum quod ad officium et ordinem sacerdotum pertinet est sacramenta subditis ministrare honeste et reuerenter, caute et dili-

3 scientiam *add.* et *A* || 4 Christi passionis *Mo* || 4-5 purpuree *A* || 5 enim ] autem *A* | respicere *A* | debet respicere *A* || 6 quod<sup>1</sup> ] quid *A Mo* || 12 ascendat in montem *A* || 15 per ] propter *Mo* || 17 acus *add.* in *A* || 18 pungat *A* || 20 sinistro humero *A* || 23 super *A Mo* || 26 secundum *add.* est *A* | est om. *A*

21-22 cfr 1 Pet 4, 18

26 For proposals about chapter reorganization see pp. 63-64.

genter, discrete et sapienter. Honestas et reuerentia non solum interior sed etiam exterior sacramentis est exhibenda, ne uilescant in conspectu laicorum et simplicium, qui iudicant secundum faciem et magis intuentur que fiunt extrinsecus quam attendant que latent intrinsecus. Vnde facilius scandalizantur, sicut scriptum est: «Qui uiderunt me 5 foras fugerunt a me.» «Propter uos», ait dominus sacerdotibus, «nomen meum blasphematur in gentibus».

Meminerit ergo sacerdos quod scriptum est in Daniele de Baltasar, qui, contemptibiliter contrectans uasa domini, abutebatur eis, tradens ea concubinis suis ad bibendum, et idcirco, amisso regno, tradidit 10 eum dominus in manibus inimicorum suorum. Et dominus, iratus contra Ozam eo quod manum posuit super archam federis, percussit eum pro temeritate sua, qui mortuus est ibi iuxta archam domini. Dicunt autem quod nocte precedente cum uxore sua iacuerat. Scriptum est autem: «Mundamini qui fertis uasa domini.» Sint ergo uasa munda 15 quibus ministrantur sacramenta, ut cum reuerentia et honore, cum humilitate et tremore pertractentur, siue in eis crisma uel oleum infirmorum uel oleum sacrum reponatur, siue in eis uinum et aqua in ministerio altaris apponatur. Et super omnia uas illud in quo corpus domini reseruatur cum omni cautela et reuerentia sub clauibus in 20 honesto loco recludatur.

Sint palle altaris et corporalia mundissima, sint uestimenta sacerdotis integra et honesta, et generaliter quicquid ad ipsa sacramenta pertinet, omni sorde et abominatione careat, ut dicat sacerdos non solum ore sed opere: «Domine dilexi decorem domus tue et locum 25 habitationis glorie tue.» Vt sciat separare pretiosum a uili, et inter sanctum et prophanum, inter mundum et pollutum habere distantiam, timeat igitur, ne dicatur ei quod ait dominus sacerdotibus per Malachiam: «Offertis super altare meum panem pollutum, et dicitis, in quo polluimus te? In eo quod dicitis, mensa domini polluta est.» Dominum 30

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2 uilescat *Mo* || 6 fugerunt *HQS Mo Vulg.*, fugierunt *AB* || 11 manus *A* || 12 posuerit *AQS* | super] ad *Mo Vulg.* || 13 pro] super *A Vulg.* || 14 iacuerat] dormierat *AQS* || 19 apponatur *A*, apponantur *B Mo* | quo *add.* sanctum *Mo* || 20 in *JR Mo*, et *ABHQS* || 22 munda *A* || 23 quicquid generaliter *A* || 26 et *om. A* || 28 timeat ... Malachiam *om. JR Mo* | igitur] ergo *S*

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5-6 cfr Ps 30, 12 || 6-7 cfr Is 52, 5, Ez 36, 22 || 11-13 cfr 2 Rg 6, 6-8 || 15 Is 52, 11 || 25-26 Ps 25, 8 || 29-30 cfr Mal 1, 7

enim despicit qui sacramentorum munditiam contempnit. Contra quos dicit beatus Augustinus: «Grauius peccat qui contempnit Christum glorificatum iam in celis, quam qui crucifixerunt ambulantes in terris.» Exterior enim ornatus, deuotionem prouocat interius.

- 5 Debet preterea sacerdos ministrare sacramenta caute et diligenter, ne dominus de manibus eius sanguinem animarum requirat, si negligentia uel defectu eius sacramentorum medicina priuentur hii quibus prouidere tenetur. Vigilet igitur super custodia gregis sui diligenter. Scriptum est enim: «Maledictus qui opus dei facit negligenter.» Nam  
10 cui plus committitur, amplius ab eo exigitur. Multi autem magis dolent, et sollicitantur de parua corporis infirmitate uel de amissione modice pecunie quam de morte uel de dampno anime sibi commisse. Vnde quidam sapiens ait: «Ha, quam sollicito quisque labore occurrit medico carnis amore? De morbis anime nulla querela, egressam sequi-  
15 tur tarda medela.» Attendat igitur sacerdos consilium Salomonis dicentis: «Fili mi, si sponderis pro amico tuo, defixisti apud extraneum manum tuam. Illaqueatus es uerbis oris tui, et captus propriis sermonibus. Fac ergo quod dico, fili mi, et temetipsum libera, quia incidisti in manum proximi tui. Discurre, festina, suscita amicum  
20 tuum. Ne dederis sompnium oculis tuis, non dormitent palpebre tue. Eruere quasi damula de manu et quasi auis de insidiis aucupis.»

Sacerdos enim fideiussor est Christo pro animabus sibi commissis et illaqueatus est uerbis oris sui. Ex pacto enim tenetur eas cum omni  
25 aliquis de grege suo per negligentiam suam pereat, ne filium suum dormiendo suffocet, uelut meretrix illa reproba que coram Salomone

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1 enim ] igitur *Mo* || 3 interius *add.* in terris *ABQ* || 5 sacramenta ministrare *A* || 8 tenentur *Mo* | diligenter super custodia gregis sui *A* || 9 maledictus *add.* homo *A* || 10 amplius ] plus *A* | exigitur *A* || 14 egressa *AQS* || 20 non ] si *Mo*, ne *QS*, nec *Vulg.* || 21 de manu *om.* *JR Mo* | insidiis ] manu *A* *Vulg.* || 22 est fideiussor *A* || 26 uelut *om.* *A*

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6 cfr Ez 3, 18; 33, 8 || 9 cfr Jer 48, 10 || 16–21 cfr Prov 6, 1–5 || 25–26 cfr 3 Rg 3, 19

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2–3 cfr Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Ps 68, Sermo 2, 6. Corp Chr, XXXIX, 922. PL. XXXVI, 859. || 13–15 cfr Giralduus Cambrensis, *Symbolum electorum: Juvenilia carmina*, De cura carni quam spiritui propensius impensa, *Omnia opera*, ed. J. Brewer, I, London, 1861, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 21, 369.

decidit a causa sua. Teste enim beato Augustino: «Plus nocent qui animas credentium interficiunt quam qui Christi carnem mox resur-  
recturam peremerunt.»

Diligenter igitur caueat sibi sacerdos, ne per negligentiam suam paruulus sine baptismo moriatur, uel absque confessione et uiatico 5  
decedat infirmus, et insuper extremam unctionem cum omni cura et diligentia grauiter egrotantibus exhibeat. Maior autem sacerdos absque confirmationis sacramento nullum ab hac uita transire permittat. Scriptum est enim: «Manus in manu non erit innocens <malus>.»  
Otiosa namque et remissa manus, licet nullum malum faciat, innocens 10  
tamen non dicitur, si bonum omittat. Preparat ergo sacerdos foris opus suum secundum consilium Salomonis et diligenter exerceat agrum suum, ne ipsius agrum uel uineam repleant urticae uel superficiem eius operiant spine. Qui enim operatur terram suam saturabitur panibus, manus autem remissa tributis seruiet. Si enim propter frigus 15  
torporis et accidie arare noluerit, mendicabit in estate, et non dabitur ei.

<DE ADMINISTRATIONE SACRAMENTORUM:  
DISPOSITIONES RECIPIENTIIUM>

Debet preterea sacerdos discrete et cum omni circumspectione sacramentorum misteria subditis ministrare, ne forte det sanctum canibus uel porcis margaritas. Caueat igitur, ne indignis et qui in 20  
peccato mortali sunt, quantum in se est, exhibeat sacramenta. Ait enim Augustinus: «Plus peccat qui corpus Christi tradit indignis membris quam qui tradiderunt ipsum crucifixoribus iudeis.» Talibus enim panis eorum conuertitur intrinsecus in fel aspidum et medicina

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2 carnem Christi A || 4 sibi caueat A || 5 et ] uel A || 6 discedat A || 9 malus edit., Vulg., manus AB et cet. codd., Mo || 15 enim ] autem Mo || 21 sacramentum A || 22 enim add. beatus A || 23 ipsum ] eum A | crucifigentibus A

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9 Prov 11, 21 || 13–14 cfr Prov 24, 30–31 || 14–15 cfr Ps 131, 15 || 15 cfr Prov 12, 24 || 15–17 cfr Prov 20, 4 || 19–20 cfr Mt 7, 6 || 24 cfr Jb 20, 14

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1–3 The citation has not been identified. || 22–23 The citation has not been identified.

in uenenum. Dicente beato Augustino: «Bene esse non potest accipienti male quod bonum est.» Postquam enim Iudas indigne recepit sacramentum, intrauit diabolus in cor eius ut traderet dominum. Qui enim in sordibus sacramenta suscipit, non purgatur sed amplius sordescit, 5 quemadmodum de sacramento altaris dicit apostolus: «Qui indigne accedit, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.» Non igitur ad nuptias per manum sacerdotis introducatur qui ueste nuptiali non ornatur. Habemus enim altare sacramentorum de quo non habent potestatem edere, qui tabernaculo carnis deseruiunt. Purissimum enim 10 debet esse uas pectoris in quo reseruatur liquor celestis nectaris, ne, si sanguis ueri Abel a sacerdote in terra fundatur, contra ipsum clamet ad dominum de terra.

Si tamen occultus fuerit peccator et instanter sacramenta coram aliis petat, tradat ei sacerdos, ne forte, si negauerit, ipsum peccatorem 15 prodat. Prius tamen generaliter interdicat, ne quis indignus ea suscipiat. Si autem temporibus determinatis aliquis ad mensam domini non accedat, quia peccata relinquere recusat, a sacerdote compellatur, nec talibus propter exempli perniciem panis benedictus conferatur.

〈DE ADMINISTRATIONE SACRAMENTORUM:  
DISPOSITIONES SACERDOTIS〉

Sicut autem indignis non sunt conferenda sacramenta, ita ab 20 indignis non sunt ministranda, ne manibus leprosis oblatum ferculum a domino respuatur. Hec est enim uoluntas dei, ut sciat sacerdos uas suum possidere in sanctificatione et honore, non in passionibus desiderii, cuius cor debet esse presepe agni immaculati. Mundas enim debet habere manus qui tergere habet sordes alterius. Si enim incantator percussus fuerit a serpente, quis medebitur ei? Aut «si sal 25 euanuerit, in quo salietur?»

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2 recepit indigne *A* || 8 habet *Mo* || 13–14 coram aliis sacramenta *Mo* || 14 tradat *A Mo*, tardat *B* || 18 exempla *Mo* | perniciem ] paenitentiae *Mo* || 24 debet *add.* sacerdos *A*

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3 cfr Jo 13, 2 || 5–6 cfr 1 Cor 11, 27–29 || 6–7 cfr Mt 22, 11–12 || 8–9 cfr Hebr 13, 10 || 21–23 cfr 1 Thess 4, 4–5 || 24–25 cfr Eccli 12, 13 || 25–26 Mt 5, 13

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1–2 cfr Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Ps 142, 16. Corp Chr, XL, 2071. PL, XXXVII, 1854.

Licet enim uirtus sacramentorum ex uita non dependeat ministro-  
rum, quia nec a bono meliora nec a malo efficiuntur deteriora, ipsi  
tamen ministri, quia locus in quo stant terra sancta est, debent tollere  
calciamenta mortuorum operum de pedibus affectuum. Qui enim in-  
dignus ad mensam domini accedit, secundum quod dicit apostolus, 5  
«quantum in se est filium dei conculcans sanguinem testamenti  
pollutum ducit, et spiritui sancto contumeliam facit». «Nescitis», ait  
apostolus, «quia corpora uestra templum sunt spiritus sancti?» Si  
igitur sacerdos templum domini in se uiolauerit, disperdet eum dominus  
tamquam sacrilegum et criminis lese maiestatis reum. Spiritualis igitur 10  
medicus primo curet seipsum. Nam cuius uita despicitur, restat ut  
eius ministerium condempnatur.

Vnde frequenter scandalizantur laici et inducuntur in errorem here-  
tici, asserentes quod apud indignos et immundos ministros non sunt uera  
sacramenta. Quicquid enim, ut aiunt, tetigerit immundus, immundum 15  
erit, inducentes auctoritatem prophete dicentis: «Maledicam benedic-  
tionibus uestris.» Subditi tamen, ad quos uitam prelatorum seu sacer-  
dotum non pertinet discutere, quamdiu ecclesia eos sustinet, ab  
indignis digne possunt sancta sacramenta recipere. Ioseph enim digne  
suscepit Christi corpus a Pilato indigno, iustus ab iniusto. 20

#### 〈SACRAMENTA SUNT GRATIS〉

Super omnia autem caueat sacerdos, ne pro quibuscumque sacra-  
mentis aliquid exigat. Gratis accipit, gratis conferat, ne cathedras  
uendentium columbas, quas dominus euertit, ipse in dampnationem  
suam erigere attentet, ne lepra Gyzei inficiatur, uel cum Symone mago  
uelut hereticus a domino reprobetur. Sacerdos igitur in huiusmodi 25  
ministerio que sursum sunt querat, non que super terram, ut nesciat

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2 deteriora *add.* et *A* || 8 sunt templum *Mo* || 9 dei *A Vulg.* || 12 contempnatur  
*A Mo* || 13 ducuntur *A* || 14 ministros et immundos *A* || 15 ait *A* || 16 prophete  
auctoritatem *A* || 16-17 benedictionibus *A Mo Vulg.*, benedicientibus *B* ||  
18 eos ecclesia *A* || 19 digna *A* | sacramenta sancta *Mo* || 20 corpus Christi *A*

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3 cfr Ex 3, 5 || 6-7 cfr Hebr 10, 29 || 7-8 cfr 1 Cor 6, 19 || 8-9 cfr 1 Cor 3, 17 ||  
11 cfr Lc 4, 23 || 15-16 cfr Lev 5, 2-3 || 16-17 Mal 2, 2 || 19-20 cfr Mt 27, 59 ||  
22 cfr Mt 10, 8 || 22-23 cfr Mt 21, 12 || 26 cfr Col 3, 1-2 || 26-p. 190, 1 cfr Mt 6, 3

sinistra quid faciat eius dextera. Pallium breue est et stratum angustum. Non potest deo seruire et mamone, ut claudicet in duas partes et ingrediatur terram duabus uiis. Mens enim diuisa non impetrat.

- Excutiat igitur sacerdos manus suas ab omni munere et lauet inter  
 5 innocentes manus suas, ut sine fermento cupiditatis in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis subditis exhibeat sacramenta. Cum dominus ministris legalibus impropere per prophetam: «Quis in uobis est qui claudat hostia et incendat altare meum gratuito», quanto magis eternis suppliciis condempnabit euangelicos sacerdotes, qui spiritus sancti  
 10 gratiam, imo ipsum spiritum sanctum, in sacramentis uenalem exponere non formidant?

<DE SCIENTIA DEBITA SACERDOTIS DE SACRAMENTIS>

- Debent preterea sacerdotes sapienter ministrare sacramenta per exteriora signa, uirtutem interiorem subtiliter attendendo et spiritualia spiritualiter examinando. Sacramenta enim noue legis efficiunt  
 15 quod figurant. Sicut enim aqua baptismalis exterius corpus abluit, sic anima spiritualiter interius emundatur. Sacramenta uero ueteris testamenti non iustificabant sed tantum significabant. Legalia enim non fuerunt instituta ad iustificandum sed data fuerunt duris in flagellum, imperfectis in pedagogum, perfectis autem in signum.  
 20 Debet igitur sacerdos diligenter agnoscere et inuestigare occulta sacramentorum misteria uirtutemque eorum et effectus, et propter quod unumquodque fiat studiose pensare, ut subditos suos secundum capacitatem ingenii non negligat super hiis informare, ut, secundum quod ait Petrus apostolus: «Paratus semper sit ad satisfactionem omni  
 25 poscenti se reddere rationem de ea que in ipso est fide et spe», ne sit senex fatuus, quem odit dominus, id est, presbyter insensatus. «Labia enim sacerdotis», sicut ait propheta, «custodiunt scientiam, et legem

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4 manum suam *A* || 4-5 manus suas inter innocentes *A* || 6 et *A* *Mo*, *om.* *B* ||  
 10 spiritum *om.* *Mo* || 17 figurabant *A* || 21 sacramenta *A* | misteria *om.* *A* ||  
 22 quid *Mo* || 25 se *HR Mo*, sed *ABQS* || 27 legem *add.* eius *B*

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1-2 cfr Is 28, 20 || 2 cfr Mt 6, 24 | cfr 3 Rg 18, 21 || 4 cfr Is 33, 15 || 4-5 cfr  
 Ps 25, 6 || 5-6 cfr 1 Cor 5, 8 || 7-8 Mal 1, 10 || 8-9 cfr Hebr 10, 49 || 13-14 cfr  
 1 Cor 2, 13-14 || 24-25 cfr 1 Pet 3, 15 || 26 cfr Eccli 25, 3-4 || 26-p. 191, 1 cfr  
 Mal 2, 7



ex ore eius requiram.» Et rursus dominus ad sacerdotes: «Quia tu scientiam repulisti, repellam ego te, ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi.» Non igitur sit «sicut populus, sic sacerdos», acceptus enim est regi minister intelligens. Vnde dominus per Moysen in Deuteronomio sic ait: «Si difficile et ambiguum apud te iudicium esse prospexeris inter 5 sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et non lepram, et iudicium inter portas tuas uideris uerba uariari, surge, et ascende ad locum, quem elegerit dominus deus tuus. Veniesque ad sacerdotem leuitici generis, et ad iudicem qui fuerit illo tempore, queresque qui iudicabunt tibi iudicii ueritatem, et facies quecumque dixerint.» Patet 10 igitur quod sacerdos non solum inter bonum et malum sed inter uerum et falsum debet discernere, ut et fideles sciat instruere et infidelium errores confutare.

Attendant igitur diligenter sacerdos, quod licet dominus sola uirtute sua absque sacramentorum amminiculo iustificare et sanctificare 15 ualeat, uoluit tamen obsequiis ministrorum et mediantibus sacramentis medicina salutari interius per uisibiles creaturas inuisibiliter operari, triplici scilicet ratione, propter humilitatem, exercitationem, et eruditionem: ut subiciendo se sensibilibus placeret homo per obedientiam precipienti domino; et ut uanam declinet occupationem 20 honestis exercitiis intendendo; et ut forma uisibili exterius ad inuisibilia interius informetur. «Est enim sacramentum», ut ait Augustinus, «inuisibilis gratie uisibilis forma, seu uisibile signum.» Secundum quod dicitur sacramentum sacrum designans, nam plerumque dicitur sacramentum sacrum signatum, seu sacrum secretum, id est, res sacra- 25 menti. Sacramentum autem huius rei similitudinem exprimit cuius est signum, alioquin non recte dicitur sacramentum. Dicitur preterea sacramentum fidei misterium, quia aliud oculo cernitur, aliud corde creditur.

2 repellam *add.* et *A* || 3 sic *om.* *Mo* || 5 ambiguum *Mo* | perspexeris *A Mo Vulg.* || 7 intra *A Mo Vulg.* || 8 ueniesque *A Mo Vulg.*, uenies quia *B* || 12 et ut *A* || 18 scilicet *om.* *A* | ratione *A Mo*, oratione *B* || 21 exercitiis *A Mo*, exercitiis *B* | exterioris *A* || 22 interius ] exterius *A* || 24 signans *Mo* || 27 alioqui *Mo* || 28 misterium *A Mo*, ministerium *B*

1-2 cfr Osee 4, 6 || 3 Is 24, 2, Osee 4, 9 || 3-4 cfr Prov 14, 35 || 5-10 cfr Deut 17, 8-10

22-23 cfr Saint Augustine, De civitate Dei, X, 5. Corp Chr, XLVII, 277. CSEL, XL, 452. Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 32.

CAPITULUM XXXVI

DE SACRAMENTIS. PRIMO DE BAPTISMO

Sunt autem ecclesie septem principalia sacramenta: scilicet, baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, penitentia, matrimonium, extrema unctio, et  
5 consecratio. Omnia ista preter matrimonium, quantum in se est, efficiunt quod figurant et augmentum gratie prestant, nisi ab indigne suscipientibus impediuntur, ut finem in altero non consequantur. Instituta enim sunt ad significandum et sanctificandum. In sacramento autem matrimonii ex uirtute sacramenti non confertur cumulus  
10 uel augmentum gratie, quia fit tantum ad remedium contra carnis lapsum, quemadmodum comedere carnes conceditur monacho et balnea egroto.

Sunt autem quedam sacramenta uoluntatis, sicut matrimonium et ordo clericorum. Alia quinque sunt necessitatis, si loco et tempore  
15 debito haberi possunt. Si enim contempnantur, sine hiis non est salus. Duo tamen illorum sunt prime et arte necessitatis: scilicet, baptismus et penitentia. Sine baptismo enim non est salus paruulis nec sine penitentia hiis qui mortaliter peccauerunt, et ista duo pro aliquo interdicto non possunt prohiberi. Sine aliis autem potest esse salus, dum-  
20 modo ea per contemptum non omittamus. Duo sacramenta uoluntatis specialia sunt, alia quinque generalia, que ab omnibus loco et tempore suscipienda sunt.

<DE CARACTERE SACRAMENTALI>

Attendendum est preterea quod quedam sacramenta non solum ad remedium uel propter gratie augmentum instituta sunt sed insuper ad

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2 sacramentis *add.* et *A* || 15 debito *om.* *Mo* || 16 autem *A* || 19 autem *om.* *Mo* || 20-21 specialia sunt uoluntatis *A* || 23 preterea est *A*

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2 For proposals about chapter reorganization see pp. 63-64. || 11-12 cfr the Rule of Saint Augustine. PL, XXXII, 1379, 4; 1383, 9. CSEL, LVII, 361, 367. PL, XXXIII, 960, 8; 963, 13.

distinguendum, et illis signum siue character anime imprimitur. Et quia signum illud non potest deleri, licet gratia per peccatum possit amitti, huiusmodi sacramenta non habent iterari, ne fiat iniuria sacramento. Cuiusmodi sunt baptismus, confirmatio et ordo. Alia autem que non fiunt ad distinguendum, in quibus non imprimitur characteris signaculum, iterari possunt, ut sacramenta eucharistie, penitentiae et extreme unctionis et matrimonii, que sunt remedia cotidiane infirmitatis contra ruinas nostre fragilitatis.

Character autem in predictis tribus sacramentis in anima imprimitur iuxta illud: «Ex tribu Iuda duodecim milia signati.» Prius enim est anima quasi informis, quam cito autem homo baptizatur, quasi noua sculptura anime imprimitur, ut huius characteris sigillo ab infidelibus distinguatur. Deinde in confirmatione fortitudinis sigillo quasi caractere nouae armorum seu militie roboratur. Tertio dignioris ordinis caractere quasi vexillo prelacionis et priuilegio dignitatis et quasi ductor gregis insignitur.

Imprimuntur igitur huiusmodi characteres propter distinctionem et propter elegantiam et propter indelebilem memoriam.

#### <DE BAPTISMO IN GENERE>

Sacerdos igitur discretus circa predicta sacramenta diligenter attendat conuenientias et differentias, uirtutem et efficaciam. Et unumquodque singillatim discutiatur, considerans prudenter primo circa baptismum, qui ianua est aliorum sacramentorum, que sit eius efficacia et alia que ad baptismum sunt necessaria.

Baptismus est character siue signaculum christianae religionis ex immersione hominis in aqua et debita forma uerborum cum intentione baptizandi proueniens. Hec enim exiguntur ad hoc quod fit baptismus.

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1 imprimitur anime *A* || 2 possi *Mo* || 4 et ordo et confirmatio *A* || 5-6 signaculum ] sigillum *A* || 6 et *om.* *Mo* || 8 nostre *add.* infirmitatis aut *A* || 9 imprimitur in anima *Mo* || 16 eductor *A* || 17 autem *A* || 18 propter<sup>1</sup> *add.* debilem *B* | propter<sup>1</sup> *om.* *A* | indelebilem *om.* *B* || 24 seu *Mo*

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10 Ap 7, 5

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19 For proposals about chapter reorganization see pp. 63-64.

Quandoque tamen ipsa immersio uel exterior ablutio, que signum est interioris ablutionis, baptismus appellatur.

⟨DE MATERIA BAPTISMI⟩

In aqua et non in alio liquore instituit dominus fieri baptismum, ut ostenderetur interioris ablutionis misterium et ut nullus inopia se  
 5 excusaret, eo quod communiter et facile apud omnes nationes huiusmodi inuenitur elementum. Si autem in diuersis liquoribus baptismale exhiberetur sacramentum, non ita obseruaretur unitas siue uniformitas, ut unum et idem esset apud omnes sacramentum sed propter diuitias seu delicias uarietatem inducerent. Et idcirco dominus in  
 10 baptismo suo uim regeneratiuam contactu proprie carnis aquis conferre uoluit, et de latere suo in cruce aquam cum sanguine produxit, innuens misterium baptismatis in aqua et redemptionis in sanguine.

Quandoque tamen aqua contritionis et unda sanguinis in martyribus locum supplet baptismi, ubi non est contemptus sacramenti sed arti-  
 15 culus necessitatis. Vnde quod dominus ait: «Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non potest introire in regnum celorum», intelligendum est, quantum in eius est uoluntate, nisi impediatur necessitate, uel nisi quis renatus fuerit ea regeneratione que fit ex aqua et spiritu sancto.

20 Tales enim recipiunt rem sacramenti et non sacramentum, sicut e contrario quidam recipiunt sacramentum et non rem sacramenti, hii scilicet qui fecte accedunt ad baptismum, quibus tamen character imprimitur, sed gratia non infunditur. Recedente autem fictione, incipit baptismus in eis suum effectum habere. Alii recipiunt sacramentum et  
 25 rem sacramenti, sicut hii qui contriti accedunt, et similiter paruuli qui in fide ecclesie baptizantur, qui non solum sacramentum sed rem sacramenti, id est, diuinam gratiam, suscipiunt cum fide et aliis uirtutibus que eis in habitu a domino conferuntur.

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2 exterioris *Mo* || 3 aqua ] ipsa *A* || 5 conuenienter *JR Mo* | facile *om. Mo* || 6 inueniatur *Mo* || 7 exigeretur *A* || 10 contactu *A Mo*, contractu *B<sup>1</sup>*, contactu *B<sup>2</sup>* | proprie ] sue *A* || 16 celorum ] dei *A Vulg.* || 18 renatus ] regeneratus *A* || 20–21 sicut ... recipiunt *om. Mo* | e *om. A* || 25 sicut ] scilicet *Mo*

Sicut enim filia mulieris chananee in fide matris sue sanata est a domino, sic paruuli in fide matris ecclesie per baptismum saluantur. Aliter autem non est eis ulla salus, exceptis tantummodo innocentibus quos pro Christo occidit Herodes, quorum speciale priuilegium communem legem non facit, nec ad alios extenderetur, licet hodie pro Christo paruuli christianorum non baptizati a paganis occiderentur. Quidam tamen ex hiis iam per circumcisionem, que tunc locum habebat, purgati erant ab originali peccato, omnes autem martyres effecti sunt priuilegio singulari.

Hiis autem qui sanctificati sunt ex utero speciale indultum est 10 priuilegium, ut uicem baptismi suppleret spiritus sanctus absque alio amminiculo, cum tamen secundum legem communem baptizari non possit puer in utero, nec renasci uel regenerari possit, qui nondum natus fuit. Natis autem fides ecclesie cum baptismo reputatur ad salutem sine meritis suis, sicut peccatum Ade reputatur ad mortem, 15 licet non actualiter puer peccauerit. Sine baptismo autem non reputatur paruulis ad salutem fides parentum, sed ex baptizatis, qui purgati sunt, nascuntur filii cum originali peccato, sicut ex grano a palea purgato granum cum palea procreatur.

A principio autem, scilicet ante institutionem baptismi, quatuor 20 modis originale peccatum purgatum est. Ante legem enim in fide parentum uel per sacrificia et bona opera, ut in Iobitis fiebat originalis peccati purgatio. Hiis autem qui de stirpe Abrahe prodierunt facta est purgatio per circumcisionem in masculis, femine autem per sacrificia et orationes purgabantur. Omni autem tempore et sub omni lege adulti 25 per fidem et contritionem in articulo necessitatis purgabantur.

#### <DE EFFECTIBUS BAPTISMI>

Circumcisioni autem et omnibus aliis purgationis generibus ex Christi institutione successit baptismus tempore gratie, qui communis

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3 esset *A* || 6 interficerentur *A* || 7 hiis ] eis *Mo* | circumcisionem *B* || 13 uel ] nec *A* || 17 paruulo *Mo* || 18 peccato originali *Mo* || 19 expurgato *A* || 24 circumcisionem *B* || 25 lege omni *A*

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22 *Iobitis* has not been located in any dictionary or word list of medieval Latin. As it stands it may refer to the tribe or descendants of Job. On the other hand it may be a corruption, so that *ut in Iobitis* originally read *ut in Iob genitis*.

est omni nationi que sub celo est et utrique sexui et omni alia purgatione efficacior. Delet enim maculam originalis peccati, sicut circumcisio et alia predicta faciebant, et insuper omne peccatum actuale sine exteriori satisfactione. Confert etiam uirtutes et glorie cumulum et ad  
 5 resistendum diabolo efficit fortiolem. Fomitem debilitat et post Christi passionem per uirtutem mortis eius paradisi ianuam aperit baptizatis.

Vnde trina immersione utimur in baptismo non solum propter fidem trinitatis sed propter triduanam domini sepulturam, ut ostendamus  
 10 consepulti Christo per trinam immersionem, ut peccato mortui cum domino resurgamus et «in nouitate uite ambulemus». Vnde apostolus sic ait: «Quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Ihesu, in morte eius baptizati sumus, consepulti enim sumus per baptismum in mortem, ut quomodo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam patris, ita et nos  
 15 in nouitate uite ambulemus. Si enim complantati sumus similitudini mortis eius, simul et resurrectionis erimus.» Hiis uerbis innuit apostolus qualiter baptismus morti Christi et sepulture et resurrectioni dominice assimiletur, ut omnia in nobis uitia mortificentur, et motus sensualitatis, quasi sepelientes, in corpore nostro reprimamus, et deposita  
 20 uetustate culpe et pene, in nouitate gratie resurgamus. Si tamen dum baptizatur aliquis, semel fiat immersio uel causa necessitatis uel propter aliquam particularem alicuius ecclesie consuetudinem, licet aliquid de predicto misterio omittatur, nichilominus semel immersus baptizatur.

#### ⟨DE CEREMONIIS BAPTISMI⟩

25 Ea uero que ante immersionem uel post fiunt de substantia baptismi non sunt. Fiunt autem ad reuerentiam et decorem. Sicut in matrimonio preter mutuum consensum qui solus efficit matrimonium, quedam propter decorem et sollempnitatem superadduntur, et in consecratione

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3 sine ] cum *Mo* || 4 glorie ] gratiae *Mo* || 6 eius *om.* *A* || 8 mersione *A* | solum *add.* autem *A* || 14 surrexit *A* || 17 dominice *add.* in nobis *A* || 18 assimilatur *Mo* | in nobis *om.* *A* || 19 et *om.* *Mo* || 28 sollempnitatem *add.* et decorem *A* | et<sup>2</sup> *JR Mo*, ut *ABHQs*

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11 Rom 6, 4 || 12–16 cfr Rom 6, 3–5

eucharistie quedam ante et post dicuntur et fiunt que de substantia consecrationis non sunt.

Paruuli autem ante baptismum cathecizantur, ut agnoscant patrini se obligari ad instruendum eos cum habuerint usum rationis, qui etiam pro ipsis respondent: «Credo», non quia paruuli fidem in actu 5 suscipiant sed quia fidei suscipiunt sacramentum et fideles efficiuntur. Respondent preterea patrini: «Volo baptizari», non solum in persona sua qui baptismo pueri consentiunt sed uniuersalis ecclesie in cuius fide baptizantur exprimunt uoluntatem.

Exorcismi autem non solum ad decorem premittuntur, sed per eos 10 uirtus et malitia diaboli debilitatur, ut in baptismo cedat spiritui sancto, et tunc plene exorcismus suum consequitur effectum. Preparatur insuper anima ad recipiendum spiritum sanctum uel gratie cumulum in hiis qui contriti accedunt ad baptismum. Aliquando autem necessitate cogente, huiusmodi preparatoria dimittuntur, nichilominus 15 tamen baptismi uirtus aufert malum quod in anima reperit, et exorcismi supplet defectum. In exorcismo igitur diabolus, sicut pharao, adiuratur et vexatur; in mari autem rubro, id est, in aquis baptismi suffocatur.

Vnctiones autem et alia que post baptismum fiunt non solum in 20 signum spiritualis unctionis sed ad cumulum gratie et ad robur subsecuntur, et in electis quod figurant efficiunt. Non tamen inconueniens est dicere, quod quedam, que non sunt principalia sacramenta, ad significandum fiunt et non ad sanctificandum, sicut candela in manibus gratie illuminationem significat sed non efficit, et salis pabu- 25 lum discretionis seu sapientie uirtutem, et candida uestis innocentiam. Filium autem rubeum Christi passionem ex cuius uirtute baptismus suam consequitur efficaciam, sicut medicina operatur per scammonem, uel uirtutem martyrii significat, sicut crux in uertice crucis Christi designat memoriam, in scapulis patientiam, in pectore dilectionem. 30

#### <DE FORMA BAPTISMI:

#### MINISTER, INTENTIO, UARIATIONES FORME>

Forma autem debita uerborum exigitur ad baptismum. Accedit enim uerbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.

4 cum ] qui A | habuerunt A || 5 eis A || 12 consequitur suum A || 26 seu ] siue A || 27 baptismatis A<sup>1</sup>, baptismus A<sup>2</sup> || 30 delectationem Mo

Forma baptismi Iohannis fuit: «Baptizo te in nomine uenturi», scilicet Messie uel Christi. Baptismus enim fuit in aqua tantum, ut homines assuefaceret et prepararet ad suscipiendum Christi baptismum. Vnde et baptizati a Iohanne postea rebaptizati sunt baptis-  
 5 Christi ex aqua et spiritu sancto. Aliquibus autem uidetur, quod baptizati a Iohanne, qui ueram fidem habebant, nec in baptismo Iohannis spem ponebant nec rebaptizabantur, sed per solam manus impositionem recipiebant spiritum sanctum.

Discipuli domini in principio baptizabant in nomine Christi, ut hoc  
 10 nomen hominibus innotesceret et Christi uirtus omnibus nota esset. In nomine enim Christi implicite intelligitur trinitas. Christus enim interpretatur unctus, in quo intelligitur unguens et unctio et qui ungitur; id est, pater et spiritus sanctus et ipse filius. Non est autem credendum quod discipuli, qui in nomine Christi alios baptizabant et  
 15 baptismum predicabant non baptizati remansissent. Loti enim fuerunt sacro baptis-  
 mate, sicut innuit dominus in cena: «Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet, sed est mundus totus.»

Postquam uero dilatata est ecclesia et Christi nomen uelut «oleum effusum» in notitiam multorum deuenit, usi sunt discipuli forma illa  
 20 quam ipse dominus instituit dicens: «Docete omnes», inquit, «gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti», ut trinitas mundo innotesceret, et cognoscerent omnes uirtutem baptismi non ex uirtute ministrorum sed ex uirtute totius trinitatis prouenire.

Vnde non solum utriusque sexus fideles sed et sarraceni et heretici in  
 25 necessitate possunt baptizare sub inuocatione trinitatis, dummodo quod intendit ecclesia ipsi intendant facere, licet ex baptismo nullum fructum crederent prouenire. Regulariter tamen propter sacramenti reuerentiam a sacerdotibus debet conferri, nisi in articulo necessitatis

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2 enim ] eius *Mo* || 3 assuesceret *Mo* || 4 rebaptizati ] baptizati *Mo* || 6 habebat *Mo* || 7 non baptizabantur *Mo* | manuum *A* || 10 uirtus Christi *A* || 13 pater *add.* et filius *A* | et ipse filius *om.* *A* || 14 baptizabant alios *A* || 14–15 et baptismum predicabant *om.* *JR Mo* || 15 non baptizati ] inbaptizati *A* || 18 enim *A* || 19 sunt *om.* *Mo* || 20 instruit *A* | inquit omnes *A Mo* || 28 necessitatis *add.* cum *Mo*



aliter fieri oporteat. Vnde mimice seu ioculatorie baptizati in forma ecclesie cum intentione faciendi hoc quod facit ecclesia non sunt rebaptizandi, ne fiat iniuria sacramento, quod non dependet ex uirtute ministrantis.

Intentio autem baptizantis necessaria est. Non enim mulierem 5 dicimus baptizare, que filium suum causa balneandi mergens in aqua, dicit: «In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti», cum non habeat intentionem baptizandi. Non tamen exigitur intentio baptizati, sicut patet in puero et in morione seu insano uel oppresso tanta infirmitate, quod se ignoret baptizari. Nichilominus tamen qui huiusmodi sunt, 10 suscipiunt sacramentum baptismi.

Forme autem a domino institute nichil addendum est uel subtrahendum uel immutandum. Si enim aliquis hodie dicat: «Baptizo te in nomine Christi», non est baptizatus. Similiter si dicat: «Baptizo te in nomine patris et filii», et tertiam personam non pronuntiet, quod 15 operatur irritum haberetur et uanum. Tota enim trinitas nominanda est, sicut tota in baptizato Christo apparuit: Pater in uoce, filius in homine, spiritus sanctus in columba.

Diuersitas autem linguarum baptismi formam non mutat, cum idem maneat intellectus. Similiter si quis per imperitiam artis grammaticae 20 uerba corrupte proferat, propter hoc baptismi substantia non mutatur. Vt si quis dicat: «Baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.» Si quid autem in principio uel in fine addatur uel in medio, nichilominus baptismus confertur, si cum intentione baptizandi uerba proferantur. Vt si quis dicat: «Baptizo te in aqua frigida in nomine patris et filii 25 equalis patri et spiritus sancti, ut sis christianus.» Si quid tamen interpretatur ut error uel heresis introducatur, dicunt quod non est baptismus. Vt si dicat arrianus: «Baptizo te in nomine patris maioris et filii minoris et spiritus sancti utrique inequalis.»

Si autem uerbum non proferatur, si dicatur tantum: «In nomine 30 patris et filii et spiritus sancti», uel si unus immergat et alius uerba

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1 unde *add.* et *A* | ioculatione *Mo* | in *om.* *A* || 10 se *om.* *Mo* || 13 hodie aliquis *A* || 16 habetur *A* *Mo* || 17 baptismo Christi *Mo* | Christo baptizato *A* || 21 hoc *add.* gratiam *A* | substantia *om.* *A* || 22 sancta *A* || 26 equalis patri *A* *Mo*, *om.* *B* | quid ] quis *A* || 27 interponatur *Mo* | uel ] aut *A* || 30 sed dicat *Mo*

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1 *Ioculatorie* does not appear in any medieval word-lists. The closest form to it are nouns: *ioculatoria* (n., pl.), and *ioculator*.

proferat, uel si unus incipiat et ipso infirmitate prepedito alius suppleat, dubium est utrum sic conferatur baptismus, et idcirco in hoc casu puer uel adultus est rebaptizandus.

Et generaliter quotiens de aliquo sacramento rationabiliter contingit dubitari, debet iterum conferri. Nec iudicatur iteratum quod dubitatur esse collatum. Si autem laicus in necessitate mortis imminenti puerum baptizauerit, sacerdos, si puer superuixerit, reliqua que ad sollempnitatem pertinent diligenter suppleat. Et laicos diligenter instruat de forma baptizandi.

## CAPITULUM XXXVII

## DE SACRAMENTO CONFIRMATIONIS

Confirmationis sacramentum ad solos pertinet apostolos et eorum successores, scilicet episcopos, qui uicem gerunt apostolorum in confirmando, sicut minores sacerdotes officium implent septuaginta duorum discipulorum in baptizando. Hoc autem sacramentum institutum est partim ab apostolis quantum ad manus impositionem, partim ab ecclesia quantum ad unctionem crismatis in fronte, quod non legimus apostolos fecisse. Licet autem in eminentiori parte hominis ab eminentioribus personis predictum conferatur sacramentum, aliquando tamen propter defectum uel paucitatem episcoporum minoribus sacerdotibus dispensatiue est concessum. Hiis autem temporibus cessante dispensatione si contra institutionem ecclesie a simplicibus sacerdotibus attemptaretur, irritum haberetur, nec signaculum characteris imprimi diceremus, sed confirmandus esset ab episcopo qui prius a minori sacerdote fuit in fronte crismatus.

Cum autem in baptismo spiritus sanctus conferatur ad purgationem et innocentiam, in confirmatione confertur ad robur et ad pugnam,

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2 hoc om. A || 4 generaliter add. omnes A | rationabiliter om. A || 6 laicus ] alicuius Mo || 12 apostolos pertinet A || 18 homini Mo || 21 est dispensatiue A || 24 sed ] si A | episcopis A

sicut in die pentecostes missus est in apostolos, ut eos contra mundi huius pressuras confirmaret et corda eorum in agone roboraret. Hoc autem sacramentum quidam ita coniungunt baptismo, ut statim uelint ipsum post baptismum debere conferri, quia per hoc confirmatur fides 5 que suscipitur in baptismo; que consuetudo satis approbanda est, ubi haberi potest copia seu presentia maioris sacerdotis. Ante baptismum autem conferri non debet, cum baptismus ianua sit et fundamentum aliorum sacramentorum.

Virtutem autem huius sacramenti Melchiades papa conuenienter exprimit dicens: «Spiritus sanctus, qui super aquas baptismi salutifero 10 descendit lapsu, in fonte plenitudinem tribuit ad innocentiam, in confirmatione augmentum prestat ad gratiam. Et quia in hoc mundo tota etate uicturis inter inuisibiles hostes et pericula gradiendum est, in baptismo regeneramur ad uitam, post baptismum roboramur et confirmamur ad pugnam. In baptismo abluimur, post baptismum 15 roboramur.» Et Rabanus sic ait: «Signatur baptizatus cum crismate in capitis summitate per sacerdotem, per pontificem in fronte, ut in priori unctione significetur per ipsum spiritus sancti descensio ad habitationem deo consecrandam, in secunda quoque ut eiusdem spiritus sancti septiformis gratia cum omni plenitudine sanctitatis et 20 scientie et uirtutis uenire in homine declaretur.»

De substantia autem huius sacramenti est sanctum crisma et forma ab ecclesia instituta. Exterior enim crismatis unctio spiritualem in anima designat unctionem. Crisma autem ex oleo et balsamo conficitur, ut per eorum proprietates spiritualis gratia declaretur. Oleum enim 25 ardendo illuminat, medicando sanat, commixtum aquis ipsas purificat. Spiritus sanctus ardore caritatis mentem inflammans illuminat, peccatorum uulnera sanat, adueniens aquis baptismi ipsas sanctificando purificat. Balsami liquor a putredine custodit, et spiritus sanctus mentem incorruptam conseruat. Debet autem hoc sacramentum con- 30

10 baptismi *JR Mo*, baptizati *ABHQ*S || 13 uicturus *A* | uisibiles *A* || 14 roboramur] regeneramur *A* || 19 consentiendam *JR Mo* | ut *om. Mo* || 19-21 spiritus ... uenire *om. Mo* || 21 declaratur *Mo* || 24 unctionem designat *A*

10-16 cfr Pope Melchiades, Epistola prima ad omnes Hispaniae episcopos, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. V, c. 2. Hinschius, p. 245. Mansi II, 430-31. || 16-21 cfr Raban Maur, De Institutione clericorum, Lib. I, c. 30, ed. A. Knoepfler, Rabani Mauri de institutione clericorum libri tres, München, 1900, pp. 53-54. PL, CVII, 314.

ferri ieiunis et corde prius contritis quando confertur adultis, et propter reuerentiam ab episcopo ieiuno per impressionem crucis et inuocationem sancte trinitatis in hunc modum: «Consigno te signo sancte crucis, et confirmo te crismate salutis in nomine patris et filii et  
5 spiritus sancti, Amen.»

Efficitur autem episcopus patrinus seu pater spiritualis eius quem confirmat, similiter et is qui eum tenet uel frontem eius ligat. Debet autem pannus quo ligatur tertio die a sacerdote deponi et comburi et cinis eius in piscina reponi. Similiter et frons hominis confirmati  
10 reuerenter super fontes baptismi uel super piscinam debet abluī.

## CAPITULUM XXXVIII

## DE SACRAMENTO ALTARIS

Quanto sacramentum altaris omnibus aliis incomparabiliter preeminet, tanto circumspectus sacerdos circa ipsum maiorem diligentiam adhi-  
15 beat, ut, uirtutem eius prudenter attendens, cum omni reuerentia et moderamine subditos instruat et calumpniantibus hereticis eorum blasphemias confutando ualeat respondere.

## 〈DE TESTIMONIO EUCHARISTIE IN PAGINA SACRA〉

Hoc autem sacramentum post ablutionem baptismi competenter ministratur, ut, submersis egyptiis in mari rubro, id est, peccatis  
20 omnibus in baptismo deletis, ueris filiis Israel in deserto huius mundi manna de celo tribuatur, scilicet eucharistia, id est, bona gratia, ut hoc uiatico refecti et confortati in uia, ipso duce ad ueram promissionis terram perducantur. Iudei autem uidentes manna dixerunt: «Manhu»,

1 ieiunis *A Mo*, ieiuniis *B* || 6 patruus *A* || 7 et *om. A* || 9 et *om. Mo* || 12 de sacramento altaris *om. A* || 13 preeminet incomparabiliter *A* || 14 circumspectus *Mo* || 14-15 adhibet *Mo* || 20-21 mundi manna *A Mo*, manna mundi *B* || 23 autem *om. A* | mahu *Mo*

19 cfr Ex 15, 4 || 23-p. 203, 1 cfr Ex 16, 15

3-5 cfr Pontificale Romanum, Ritus pro confirmationis sacramento.

quod interpretatur: «Quid est hoc?» Multis enim «durus est hic sermo», qui abeuntes retro nolunt credere. Credentibus autem hoc sacramentum ualde est ammirabile. Hec est farina uidue sareptene que cotidie sumitur nec tamen deficit aut minuitur. Hic est uerus panis qui de celo descendit, omne delectamentum in se habens et omnis saporis 5 suauitatem. Hee carnes sunt quas dedit dominus filiis Israel in uespera huius mundi. «Vespere», inquit dominus, «comedetis carnes et mane saturabimini panibus», illucescente scilicet post tenebras luce gratie. Hoc est sacrificium ueri Melchisedech qui panem et uinum optulit summo deo, de quo scriptum est in prophetia: «Vetustissima ueterum 10 comedetis, et nouis superuenientibus uetera proicietis.» Hoc enim sacrificium in figura precessit legalia sacrificia, que proiecta sunt in nouitate gratie. Hic est pinguis panis Aser prebens delicias regibus, et uinum expressum de botro quod tulerunt filii Israel in uecte de terra promissionis, eliquatum de botro cypri in uineis Engaddi, de 15 quo dicit Ysaïas propheta: «Faciet dominus in monte hoc omnibus populis conuiuium pinguium medullarum, conuiuium uindemie defecate.» Et Iacob in benedictionibus Iude: «Lauabit uino stolam suam, et sanguine uue pallium suum.» Hic est sanguis qui super utrumque postem a filiis Israel positus est contra angelum exterminatorem, quia non solum sacramentaliter ore corporis sed spiritualiter ore cordis hauritur. Valet etiam ad tuitionem corporis et anime. Hic est uerus agnus paschalis qui cum panibus «azimis et lactucis agrestibus» sumitur, cum sinceritate scilicet cordis et amaritudine compunctionis. Hec est aqua quam dominus in nuptiis conuertit in uinum, ut 25 letificet cor hominis, aqua scilicet quam protulit «petra deserti», de qua dicit apostolus: «Patres nostri omnes eandem escam spiritualem manducauerunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, bibebant autem de spiritali consequente eos petra, petra autem erat Christus. Hec omnia in figura tanti sacramenti precesserunt.» 30

3 hec ] hoc *A* | sareptene *A Mo*, sarepte *B* || 5-6 omnem saporem suauitatis *A* || 6 sunt carnes *A Mo* || 14 quod ] quem *A* || 16-17 conuiuium pinguium omnibus populis conuiuium medullarum *A* || 27-28 eandem ... omnes *om. Mo*

1 Jo 6, 61 || 4-6 cfr Sap 16, 20 || 7-8 Ex 16, 12 || 9-10 cfr Gen 14, 18 || 10-11 Lev 26, 10 || 13 cfr Gen 49, 20 || 14-15 cfr Num 13, 24 || 15 cfr Cant 1, 13 || 16-18 cfr Is 25, 6 || 18-19 cfr Gen 49, 11 || 23-24 Num 9, 11 || 25-26 cfr Ps 103, 15 || 26 Is 16, 1 || 27-30 cfr 1 Cor 10, 3-6

Si mirabiles sunt umbre et figure, quam mirabilior est lux et ueritas? Dominus autem non in figura et enigmate sed palam et aperte in euangelio de hoc sacramento loquitur, dicens: «Caro mea uere est cibus et sanguis meus uere est potus.» Et iterum: «Nisi manducaueritis  
 5 carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis uitam in uobis. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet uitam eternam.» Et rursum: «Ego sum panis uiuus qui de celo descendi. Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in eternum, et panis quem ego  
 10 dabo uobis caro mea est pro mundi uita.» Et iterum: «Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in eo. Qui manducat me uiuit propter me.» Et in cena: «Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum. Accipite et bibite, hic est sanguis meus qui pro uobis effundetur.» Ita igitur aperte de hoc sacramento locutus est dominus, quod omnem dubitationem de cordibus fidelium amputauit.  
 15 Non enim potest mentiri uel fallere ueritas que hoc totiens replicauit. Et apostolus sic ait: «Quicumque manducauerit panem et biberit calicem domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis domini. Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.» Hic est calix de quo dominus in psalmo sic ait: «Calix meus inebrians  
 20 quam preclarus est.»

⟨DE TESTIMONIO SCRIPTORUM ECCLESIE⟩

Et beatus Augustinus: «Fideliter fatemur ante consecrationem panem esse et uinum quod natura formauit, post consecrationem uero carnem esse et sanguinem quod benedictio consecrauit.»

Et sanctus Ambrosius sic ait: «Panis est in altari usitatus ante  
 25 uerba sacramentorum; ubi accessit consecratio de pane fit caro Christi.»

6 carnem meam *A* | sanguinem meam *A* || 9 uobis ] ei *A*, *om. Vulg.* || 10 meam carnem *Mo, Vulg.* | sanguinem meum *A* || 11 uiuet *Mo, Vulg.* || 13 igitur ] sibi *Mo* || 15 hec *A* || 19 ait *add. et A*

3-4 cfr Jo 6, 56 || 4-7 Jo 6, 54-55 || 7-9 cfr Jo 6, 51-52 || 9-11 cfr Jo 6, 57-58 || 11-13 Mt 26, 26-28 || 16-17 cfr 1 Cor 11, 27 || 17-18 1 Cor 11, 29 || 19-20 Ps 22, 5

21-23 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 41. || 24-25 cfr Saint Ambrose, De Sacramentis, Lib. IV, c. 4, 14. CSEL, LXIII, 51-52. PL, XVI, 458.

Et iterum: «Panem istum quem sumimus in misterio, illum utique intelligo panem qui manu spiritus sancti formatus est in utero uirginis et igne passionis decoctus est in ara crucis.»

Iheronimus: «Singuli accipiunt Christum dominum, et in singulis portionibus totus est.» 5

Eusebius: «Inuisibilis sacerdos uisibiles creaturas in substantia corporis sui et sanguinis uerbo suo secreta potestate conuertit.» Item: «Ad nutum domini precipientis repente ex nichilo substiterunt excelsa celorum, profunda fluctuum, uasta terrarum. Pari potestate in spiritualibus sacramentis, ubi precipit uirtus, seruit effectus.» 10

Leo Papa: «Quid hic queris nature ordinem in Christi corpore, cum preter naturam sit ipse partus de uirgine?»

Ambrosius: «Sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. Quis sermo Christi? Hic quo facta sunt omnia? Si tanta uis est in sermone domini Ihesu, ut inciperet esse quod non erat, quanto magis operatur, ut sint 15 que erant et in aliud commutentur. Et sic quod erat panis ante consecrationem, iam corpus Christi est post consecrationem.»

Augustinus: «Manducatur Christus, et uiuit manducatus, quia surrexit occisus. Nec quando manducamus, partes de illo facimus.»

Ambrosius: «Maior est uis benedictionis quam nature, quia benedictione natura ipsa mutatur. Virga uersa est in colubrum prophetica gratia. Quod si tantum ualuit humana benedictio ut naturam uerteret, 20

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3 est *om.* *A* || 4 Iheronimus *om.* *A* || 5 est *om.* *A* || 6 uisibiles ] inuisibiles *A* | substantiam *Mo* || 7 Idem *Mo* || 8 excelsa ] et celsa *A* || 9 celorum *add.* et *A* | fluctuum *add.* et *A* || 11 corpore Christi *A* || 13 hoc conficit sacramentum sermo Christi *A* || 16 conuertantur *UV Mo* || 20 benedictionis *A Mo*, benedictionibus *B* || 22 benedictio humana ualuit *A* | ut ] quod *A*

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1-3 cfr Saint Ambrose, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 74. || 4-5 cfr Saint Jerome, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 77. Epistola 38, De Corpore et sanguine Christi, c. 5, *ad sensum*. E. Dekkers, Clavis Patrum Latinorum, ed. altera, Steenbrugge, 1961, p. 145, observes that letter 38 is supposititious and is to be attributed to Eusebius Emisenus, Homily 16. See below, p. 227, 7. || 6-7, 8-10 cfr Eusebius Emisenus, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 35. || 11-12 cfr Saint Leo, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 38. || 13-17 cfr Saint Ambrose, De Sacramentis, Lib. IV, c. 14, 16. CSEL, LXXIII, 52-53. PL, XVI, 440-41. See below, p. 233, 4. || 18-19 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, cc. 58, 70, 75. See below, p. 232, 2-3. || 20-p. 206, 2 cfr Saint Ambrose, De Mysteriis, c. 9, 50, 52. CSEL, LXXIII, 110, 112. PL, XVI, 422-23.

quid dicemus de ipsa consecratione diuina ubi uerba ipsa saluatoris operantur?»

⟨DE TESTIMONIO EXEMPLORUM ET MIRACULORUM⟩

Nullus igitur locus dubitationi relinquitur, cum dominus tot auctoritatibus confirmauerit et tot sanctis huius sacramenti ueritatem  
 5 reuelauerit. Quomodo enim uniuersalem ecclesiam permittet errare uel decipi, cuius unctio docet nos de omnibus et inducit in omnem, sicut filius eius promisit, ueritatem. Et quoniam huius sacramenti profunditas incomprehensibilis et ammirabilis omnem excedit rationem, credere precipimur, discutere prohibemur. Propter quod dominus, ut  
 10 infirmorum fidem circa hoc sacramentum hesitantium roboraret, uariis miraculorum argumentis ipsius ostendit ueritatem.

Legimus quod, beato Basilio celebrante, iudeus quidam qui latenter inter fideles ad ecclesiam uenerat, inter manus eius pulcherrimum puerum inspiciens, credit et baptizatus est.

15 In uita etiam patrum reperimus de quodam heremita cui dominus ostendit angelum quasi cultello quodam membra paruuli secantem et eius sanguinem in calice susipientem, dum sacerdos hostiam in partes diuideret.

Sed et similitudo carnis cruenta in altaris sacramento frequenter  
 20 ostensa est a domino, cuiusmodi propriis oculis in monasterio premonstratensis ordinis apud uillam que Brenna nominatur in regno Francie inspeximus.

Parisiis autem, cum bone memorie Mauricius episcopus iam quasi

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1 ubi ] nisi *A* || 4 confirmauerit *om.* *A* || 5 enim *om.* *A* | permittet *JQR Mo*, permittent *ABHV*, permetteret *U* || 8 rationem ] intentionem *Mo* || 12 Blasio *AJQV Mo* || 15 patrum reperimus *A Mo*, reperimus patrum *B* || 15–16 ostendit dominus *A* || 16 ostendit *add.* uel apparere fecit *Mo* || 17–18 in partes hostiam *A* || 20 oculis *add.* uidimus *AQ* || 21 Brana *A* || 22 inspeximus *om.* *AQ* || 23 quasi *om.* *A*

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6–7 cfr Missale Romanum, FERIA IV quatuor temporum Pentecostes, oratio prima. Bruylants, n° 679. || 12–14 cfr Vitae patrum, Lib. I, Vita Sancti Basilii, c. 7. PL, LXXIII, 301–02. || 20–21 The Abbey of Saint Yved (Evodius) at Braisne-sur-Vesle (Aisne), near Soissons, was founded in 1130. A. Matton, Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Aisne, Paris, 1871, p. 37. The chalice and the chasuble connected with the celebrated miracle have disappeared. See Appendix C: Saint Yved, Braisne, p. 293. || 23 Maurice de Sully



senio deficiens, nichil prorsus sumere ualeret, et imminente morte uiaticum sibi dari peteret, canonici sancti Victoris parisiensis hostiam non consecratam ei attulerunt, non audentes eucharistiam sibi ministrare, eo quod nil poterat gustare. Ille uero, diuina uirtute quod illi pia intentione fecerant percipiens: «Non est», inquit, «hic saluator 5 meus quem ego cum summo desiderio postulaueram». Illi autem uehementer ammirantes, Christi corpus illi attulerunt. Episcopus uero Christi presentiam percipiens cum lacrimis et deuotione ore tantum osculando tetigit et sic spiritum in pace domino reddidit.

Mulier sancta Maria de Niuella in Brabantia, cum apud ecclesiam 10 de Oignies, in qua sunt canonici regulares, per dies quadraginta in infirmitate sua nil penitus manducare potuisset, nichilominus singulis fere diebus Christi sanctum corpus absque ulla difficultate cum omni delectatione sumebat. Prior autem eiusdem loci, probare uolens utrum cibum corporalem posset sumere, me presente et ipsa ignorante, 15 hostiam non consecratam illi attulit, quam cum summis labiis attigisset, exclamans et panem materiale cum ingenti abominatione ab ore suo propellens, requiem non habuit donec pluries labia sua et os cum aqua frigida abluit.

Vidi preterea in partibus Pictauiæ sacerdotem quendam, qui, cum 20 diuina celebrasset, iuxta hostiam quam preparauerat aliam super corporale iacentem inuenit. Facta autem consecratione, cum eucharistiam debuisset percipere, hesitare cepit, utrum unam uel duas acciperet. Statim autem secunda subito disparuit, expressa forme sue uestigia super corporale relinquens, que mihi sacerdos cum ingenti 25 timore et magna ammiratione ostendit.

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3 sibi ] ei *A* || 4 poterat ] posset *A* || 5 hic inquit *A* || 7 illi Christi corpus *A* || 9 in pace domino spiritum *A* || 12 nihil *Mo* || 23 percipere ] sumere *A* || 24 subito *om. A* || 25 corporale *A*, corporalia *B Mo*

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(cir. 1120–1196), canon at Bourges and Paris, bishop of Paris, 1160. The anecdote in the text is also found in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, IX, 43 (Strange, II, 199). See also Lecoy, *Anecdotes*, n° 278, p. 231, and n° 485, p. 418; Frenken, n° 7, pp. 101–102; Greven, *Exempla*, n° 7, pp. 11–12. See Appendix C: Maurice de Sully, p. 287. || 10 Mary of Oignies (cir. 1177–1213), born at Nivelles. An outstanding example of medieval lay piety, she was a spiritual daughter of Jacques de Vitry. See the Introduction, chaps. one and two *passim*, and Appendix C: Mary of Oignies, p. 286.

## &lt;DE EFFECTIBUS EUCHARISTIE&gt;

Longum esset enarrare quot et quibus modis dominus huius sacramenti uirtutem exterius ostendendo manifestauerit uel interius afficiendo suauius et secretius presentie sue certitudinem, animabus sanctis reuelauerit.

- 5 Ipse enim nouus homo uenit in mundum, ut noua faceret opera que nullus alius fecit, que si omnia ratione essent comprehensibilia, quomodo essent profunda inscrutabilia? Neque fides haberet meritum cui humana ratio preberet experimentum. Vt enim suam erga nos caritatem ostenderet et nostram erga se caritatem accenderet, non solum  
10 dedit se in pretium ut nos redimeret, sed insuper in cibum ut nos alendo reficeret, tandem daturus se in premium ut nos glorificet. Sicut enim mortem nostram sua morte destruxit, ita uitam nostram sua uita confortat et nutrit.

- Panis igitur angelorum factus est cibum hominum, proponens nobis  
15 carnem assumptam in edulium, per cibum humanitatis inuitans nos ad gustum diuinitatis, ut gustemus et uideamus quam suavis est dominus, ut non solum humanitate sua nos reficiat, dum eum in sacramento corporaliter sumimus, sed diuinitate sua mentes nostras impinguet, dum puro corde diuinitatem eius recipimus. Et sicut per  
20 gustum in Adam omnes mortui sumus, ita per gustum in Christo omnes uitam recuperemus, «ut unde mors oriebatur, inde uita resurgeret.»

- Hic enim cibus pretiosus non corpus sed mentem impinguat, cordis palatum sanat, animam reficit et confortat, gratie cumulum prestat,  
25 caritatem et omnes uirtutes augmentat, contra spirituales nequitias animum corroborat, delet uenialia muniendo nos contra mortalia, ut sicut «lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo», quem pro nobis

3 secretius et suauius *A* || 7 profunda *add.* et *Mo* || 8-9 ostenderet caritatem *A* || 9 attenderet *B* || 10 redimeret *A Mo, om. B* || 11 reficeret *add.* et *A* | se *om. A* | precium *A* || 12 morte sua *A* || 16 ut *om. Mo* | quam ] quoniam *Mo, Vulg.* || 19 eius diuinitatem *A* || 20-21 omnes in Christo *A* || 26 nos *om. A* || 27 ut ] et *A* | quem *A Mo, que B*

5-6 cfr Jo 15, 24 || 12 cfr 1 Cor 15, 26 || 14 cfr Ps 77, 25 || 16-17 cfr Ps 33, 9 || 25 cfr Eph 6, 12 || 27 Ap 1, 5

21-22 cfr Missale Romanum, praefatio de Passione et Sancta Cruce.

effudit, ita lauet nos a peccatis cotidianis in eodem sanguine, dum ipsum cotidie in sacramento sumimus, ut per huius sanctissimi cibi edulium ipsi incorporemur, et corporis eius, quod est ecclesia, per caritatis unitatem, membra efficiamur. Propter quod in specie panis et uini sumitur et in ueritate carnis et sanguinis. Panis enim confortat, 5 uinum cor hominis letificat. Caro impinguat et saginat, sanguis uiuificat. Virtute enim huius sacramenti spiritus ad pugnam confortatur, ad gaudium spirituale letificatur, impinguitur ad deuotionem, uiuificatur ad desiderium et feruorem. Sicut ergo pre ceteris cibis corporalibus panis confortat et uinum letificat, et in hiis duobus plena 10 consistit hominis refectio, ita sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi pre omnibus aliis interiorem hominem confortat et reficit. Vnde ipse ait: «Caro mea uere est cibus, et sanguis meus uere est potus.»

#### <DE SPECIEBUS EUCHARISTIE>

Quoniam autem hoc sacramentum ualet ad tuitionem anime et corporis, sumitur in duplici specie panis et uini. Caro enim Christi 15 sub specie panis pro salute corporis, sanguis autem sub specie uini pro salute anime offertur, teste enim Moyse, anima in sanguine, id est, sanguis sedes est anime. Per hec autem carnis et anime in Christo susceptio et utriusque liberatio designatur, ut huius sacramenti uirtute anima preparetur ad glorificationem, corpus autem ad resurrec- 20 tionem.

Multiplici autem ratione carnem et sanguinem suum non sub propriis speciebus sed sub alienis dominus sumenda instituit: ut fides haberet meritum, cui humana ratio non prebet experimentum, quoniam aliud ibi cernit oculus, et aliud credit animus; et ne abhorreret 25 animus quod cerneret uisus, quia non habemus in usum carnem crudam manducare uel sanguinem humanum potare; et preterea ut uitet christianus ridiculum, ne scilicet nobis insultarent increduli, dicentes nos manducare carnem et bibere sanguinem hominis mortui.

2 in sacramento cotidie *A* || 4 quod ] quem *A* || 5 confirmat *Mo* || 7 spiritus *A* *Mo*, *om.* *B* || 8 ad<sup>1</sup> ] et *Mo* | spirituale *add.* spiritus *A* || 8-10 letificatur ... et uinum *om.* *JRUV Mo* || 9 ergo ] enim *A* || 10 et<sup>1</sup>, et<sup>2</sup> *om.* *A* || 14-15 corporis et anime *A* || 19 libatio *Mo* || 20-21 ad resurrectionem *om.* *A* || 24 cui ] cum *A* | preberet *A* || 26 usu *A*

3 cfr Col 1, 24 || 5-6 cfr Ps 103, 15 || 13 cfr Jo 6, 56 || 17 cfr Lev 17, 11

Dominis igitur indignis uoluit abscondere sacramenta sub specie aliena, ne spargeret ante porcos margaritas, «ut uidentes non uideant et audientes non intelligant». Vnde in Numeris precipitur, ut altare et mensa et uasa sacra inuoluantur, ne ab indignis uideantur. Non enim  
 5 dandum est sanctum canibus nec secreta dei reuelanda sunt indignis, ne uilescant et irrideantur ab ipsis.

Preterea dominus sub uili habitu panis et uini fidem et caritatem hominum uult experiri. Qui enim, quia absconditus est uultus eius, ipsum in peregrino habitu contempnunt et irreuerenter sacramenta  
 10 conficiunt et pertractant, sicut miseri quidam sacerdotes qui ita accedunt ad altare sicut ad aliquod opus commune, cum apparuerit in gloria sua, confundentur et punientur. Qui autem ipsum pannis sacramentorum inuolutum, fide non hesitante et «caritate non ficta», cum omni reuerentia et honore, «cum timore et tremore», ac si speciem  
 15 glorificatam uiderent, suscipiunt, ab ipso in gloria patris sui honorifice suscipiuntur. Quemadmodum de quodam comite Pictauiæ dicitur quod, assumpto habitu paupertatis quasi peregrinus ut mores et fidem hominum probaret, multas circuiuit regiones. Quidam autem religiosus sacerdos, eum in hospitio suo cum omni humanitate recipiens, benigne  
 20 ipsum tractauit, quem postea comes in episcopum pictauiensem promouit.

<SACRAMENTUM, RES, SACRAMENTUM ET RES>

Debet preterea diligens et prudens sacerdos circa predicta subtiliter tria attendere. Aliquid enim est sacramentum tantum et non res

1 igitur ] autem *A* | uoluit indignis *Mo* || 3 Numeri *A* || 4 sacra uasa *A* | indignis] immundis *A* || 4-5 non enim ... sunt indignis *JRUV Mo, om. ABQH* || 6 rideantur *Mo* || 8 eius *om. A* || 10 quidam miseri *A* || 12 ipsum *om. Mo* || 19 suscipiens *A* | recipiens *add. eum A* || 20 ipsum *om. A* || 20-21 promouit pictauiensem *Mo* || 22-23 tria subtiliter *A*

2 cfr Mt 7, 6 || 2-3 Lc 8, 10 || 3-4 cfr Num 4, 5-20 || 4-5 cfr Mt 7, 6 || 8 cfr Jb 34, 29 || 11-12 cfr Col 3, 4 || 13 cfr Jac 1, 6 | 2 Cor 6, 6 || 14 Eph 6, 5

16-21 Might the count of Poitiers be William I or William II? Both became Cistercians at the end of their lives, as told in an anecdote by Stephen of Bourbon, who depends on Jacques de Vitry for some of his anecdotes. See Lecoy, Anecdotes, n° 215, p. 187 and note 1.

sacramenti, ut forma panis et uini; aliquid res et non sacramentum, ut corpus Christi spirituale quod est ecclesia, scilicet congregatio fidelium seu unitas congregatorum; aliquid est res et sacramentum, ut corpus et sanguis Christi.

⟨DE SACRAMENTO TANTUM⟩

Forma panis sacramentum est corporis Christi. Nam sicut panis ex 5 multis granis conficitur, sic corpus Christi ex multis membris componitur. Similiter et uinum ex multis acinis confluit. Vini tamen forma corpus Christi non continet sed significat. Forma uero panis corpus Christi et significat et continet, nam panis in corpus et non in sanguinem conuertitur. Forma autem uini, in eo quod liquet aut rubet, 10 similitudinem sanguinis representat et preterea sanguinem continet, nam uinum in sanguinem commutatur.

Preterea forma panis mysticum Christi corpus significat, unitas enim ecclesiastica ex diuersis personis consistit. Vnde apostolus: «Vnus panis et unum corpus multi sumus.» Fideles enim in horreo 15 ecclesie reseruantur, uariis tribulationibus trituantur, inter duas molas timoris et spei moluntur, aqua baptismi et lacrimarum consperguntur, igne caritatis decoquantur, ut unus panis efficiantur, tenentes unam fidem, unicam spem, et indiuiduam caritatem. Sed et uinum, in quantum ex diuersis acinis confluit, unitatem ecclesiasticam 20 representat. In quantum autem calet aut rubet aut redolet, caritatem ecclesie designat.

Sic igitur forme panis et uini utrumque Christi corpus, uerum scilicet et mysticum, designant. Verum autem Christi corpus, quod ex diuersis membris componitur, unitatem ecclesie significat et efficit, et per hoc 25 dicitur sacramentum, et preterea res sacramenti, quia, ut predictum est, a forma panis significatur. Sed et sanguis Christi sacramentum est mystici corporis, eo quod uita est in sanguine. Membra autem putrida que non uiuunt de integritate corporis Christi non sunt.

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2 congregatio scilicet *A* || 10 uertitur *A* || 16 reseruantur] reconduntur *A* || 19 caritatem] trinitatem *A* || 21 aut redolet *om.* *JRUV Mo* || 25 ecclesie *add.* et *Mo* || 28 corporis mystici est *A*

Forme panis et uini, in quantum unum Christi corpus significant, unum sacramentum dicuntur, sicut hic: «Presta ut hoc tui corporis et sanguinis sacramentum non sit nobis reatus ad penam.» Quandoque tamen diuersa dicuntur sacramenta, quia non solum uerum Christi  
 5 corpus sed et mysticum designant, sicut hic: «Perficiant in nobis, quesumus domine, tua sacramenta quod continent.» Panis autem aut uinum non dicitur sacramentum, cum enim post consecrationem non maneat, sacramenta esse desinerent. Licet autem panis forma ex diuersis granis non componatur, representat tamen panem qui erat,  
 10 et ex granis pluribus ante consecrationem confectus fuerat. Et ideo forma que remanet, dicitur sacramentum.

Predictis adiutendum est, quod quidam corpus Christi siue eucharistiam sacramentaliter tantum manducant, scilicet sub specie sacramenti, alii spiritualiter tantum, alii spiritualiter et sacramentaliter. Sacra-  
 15 mentaliter tantum manducant mali, qui non sunt Christo incorporati, de quibus ait apostolus: «Qui manducat indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.»

Hoc modo Iudas manducauit, sed in cor eius uel animam non intrauit, nec profuit sed obfuit. Vnde beatus Augustinus ait: «Sancta  
 20 malis possunt obesse, ut buccella Iude, et mala prosunt bonis, sicut angelus sathane Paulo.» Et iterum: «Iudas, cum ei buccellam Christus tradidit, non malum accipiendo sed bonum male accipiendo, locum dedit diabolo.»

Quidam tamen asserunt, quod dominus non dedit Iude eucharistiam  
 25 sed tantum buccellam intinctam, per quam suum exprimeret traditorem. Soli autem Iude dedit intinctam buccellam, forsitan ut eius

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1 forme *JRUV Mo*, forma *ABHQ* | unum corpus Christi *A* || 5 designat *A Mo* || 6 sacramenta tua *A* || 7 dicuntur *Mo* || 8 desinunt *A* || 10 pluribus granis *A* || 14-15 alii<sup>2</sup> ... tantum *om. JRUV Mo* || 15 incorporati Christo *A* || 16 dicit *A* || 21 buccellam Christus ei *A* || 24 non dedit dominus *A* || 26 buccellam intinctam *A*

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16-17 cfr 1 Cor 11, 29

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2-3 cfr Missale Romanum, Orationes diversae, n° 35, pro vivis et defunctis, Postcommunio. Bruylants, n° 923. || 5-6 cfr Missale Romanum, Sabbato quatuor temporum Septembris, Postcommunio. Bruylants, n° 817. || 19-21 cfr Saint Augustine, Tractatus in evangelium Joannis, 62, 1, *ad sensum*. Corp Chr, XXXVI, 483. PL, XXXV, 1801-02. || 21-23 cfr Saint Augustine, De Baptismo, V, 8-9. PL, XLIII, 181.

exprimeret fictionem. Vnde constitutum est ab ecclesia, ut eucharistia nulli detur intincta, et maxime pro quadam heresi extirpanda que Christum sub neutra specie totum existere mentita est.

Matheus autem uidetur uelle quod dominus eucharistiam dederit Iude et non solum simplicem panem intinctum. Refert enim dominum 5 dixisse nullo excepto: «Bibite ex hoc omnes.» Marcus sic ait: «Et biberunt ex eo omnes.» Lucas autem post hec uerba domini: «Hic est calix nouum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro uobis tradetur», subiungit: «Verumptamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa.» Et ita Iudas fuit cum aliis in perceptione sacramenti. 10

Quid ergo respondebimus ad uerba Iohannis, qui sic ait: «Cum ergo accepisset ille buccellam, exiuit continuo.» Ergo non remansit cum aliis, nam postquam Christus cenauit in fine sacramenta confecit. Forsan dixit: «Continuo», quia non magnam moram fecit, uel primo dedit Iude buccellam intinctam ut innueret Iohanni, ipsum esse 15 proditorem. Postea uero dedit ei cum aliis eucharistie buccellam, et statim exiuit. Licet autem sciret eum esse indignum, dedit tamen ei, ne peccatum eius publicaret, cum esset occultum, in hoc nobis relinquens exemplum. Hiis autem quorum manifesta sunt peccata, eucharistia non est tribuenda. 20

Si queratur utrum dominus dederit eucharistiam ad bonum uel ad malum, certum est quod Iudas ad malum suum recepit. Dominus autem non dedit ei ad malum, secundum quod prepositio intentionem notat uel affectum. Sed nec ad bonum uidetur ei dedisse, ne sua intentione fraudatus sit. Si autem prepositio consecutue ponatur, uerum 25 est, quod dominus corpus suum Iude dedit ad malum. Quibusdam autem uidetur, quod dominus tantum semel dedit Iude buccellam eucharistie intinctam, eo quod dicat Iohannes: «Et post buccellam tunc introiuit in eum sathanas.»

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7 eo ] hoc *Mo*, illo *Vulg.* || 8 noui testamenti *Mo* || 14 quia ] qui *A* || 17 illi *Mo* || 21 dominus *add.* Iude *A Mo* | eucharistiam dederit *A* || 22 ad malum Iudas *A* | suum *om.* *A* | accepit *A Mo* || 23 propositio *Mo* || 24 notat ] uocat *Mo* || 24-25 sit intentione fraudatus *Mo* || 25 propositio *Mo* || 26 dedit Iude corpus suum *A*

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6 Mt 26, 27 || 6-7 cfr Mc 14, 23 || 7-8 cfr Lc 22, 20 || 9-10 Lc 22, 21 || 11-12 Jo 13, 30 || 28-29 cfr Jo 13, 27

## &lt;DE RE TANTUM&gt;

Alii corpus Christi tantum spiritualiter manducant. De quibus dicit beatus Augustinus: «Vt quid paras dentem et uentrem? crede et manducasti.» Hoc modo qui credit in Christum fide per caritatem operante manducat ipsum, licet sub forma sacramenti ipsum non recipiat.

- 5 Incorporatur enim Christo per fidem et eius membrum efficitur et, in unitate ecclesie Christo capiti uinculo caritatis adherens, unus spiritus efficitur cum eo.

- Vnde dominus in euangelio: «Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in eo.» Et beatus Augustinus:  
 10 «Hoc sacramentum pietatis est signum unitatis, uinculum caritatis. Qui uult uiuere, accedat et credat et incorporetur.» Et iterum: «Credere in Ihesum Christum, hoc est, manducare panem et uinum. Qui credit, manducat inuisibiliter; saginatur quia inuisibiliter renascitur.» Et iterum: «Qui discordat a Christo, nec manducat eius carnem nec  
 15 sanguinem eius bibit, et si tante rei sacramentum ad iudicium sue perditionis quotidie accipit.»

## &lt;DE RE ET SACRAMENTO&gt;

- Sunt alii qui corpus domini sacramentaliter et spiritualiter manducant, qui sub forma sacramenti illud recipiunt et Christo per fidem et spem et caritatem incorporantur. Hic enim cibus, non corporis sed  
 20 anime, non carnis sed cordis, manducatus non incorporatur sed etiam incorporat. In aliis cibis, quod manducatur, incorporatur, et qui

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4 sacramentum *Mo* || 8 meam carnem *A Mo Vulg.* || 11 uiuere ] uenire *Mo* || 11-12 crede *A* || 12 est *om. Mo* | et uinum ] uiuum *JRVV Mo* || 13 manducat *add. et Mo* | uisibiliter *Mo* | quia ] qui *Mo* || 14 rursum *Mo* || 15 bibit eius sanguinem *A* || 18 et<sup>2</sup> *om. A Mo* || 19 spem ] spiritu *Mo* | caritate *Mo* || 20 etiam *om. Mo* || 21 incorporat ] corporat *A*

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5 cfr 1 Cor 6, 15 || 8-9 cfr Jo 6, 57

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2-3 cfr Saint Augustine, Tractatus in euangelium Joannis, 25, 12. Corp Chr, XXXVI, 254. PL, XXXV, 1602. || 10-11 cfr Saint Augustine, Tractatus in euangelium Joannis, 26, 13. Corp Chr, XXXVI, 266. PL, XXXV, 1613. || 11-13 *Ibidem*, 26, 1. Corp Chr, XXXVI, 260. PL, XXXV, 1607. || 14-16 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 65.



manducat incorporat. In hunc autem cibum qui digne manducat, incorporatur.

Hunc duplicem manducandi modum innuit dominus cum dicit: «Accipite et manducate», id est, manducate, et manducate corporaliter et spiritualiter. Non enim credendum est, quod manibus accepissent. 5 Nec alicui seipsum communicare licet, nisi sacerdoti quando conficit. Alioquin nec etiam in periculo mortis de manu sua licet ei recipere sacramenta.

Hunc duplicem modum manducandi corpus Christi innuit ipse in euangelio dicens: «Spiritus est qui uiuificat; caro non prodest quicquam», quia caro Christi, si tantum sacramentaliter et non spiritualiter comedatur, non ad salutem sed ad dampnationem sumitur. Alioquin si digne caro Christi sumatur, multum prodest comedenti, sicut superius dictum est. 10

Iudei autem, non intelligentes uerba domini, scandalizati sunt et multi abierunt retro, dicentes: «Durus est hic sermo.» Vnde beatus Augustinus: «Quomodo intellexerunt? Carnem quippe sic intellexerunt, quomodo in cadauere uenditur aut in macello dilaniatur.» Et iterum: «Non hoc corpus quod uidetis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem effusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent.» Ipsum quidem 20 et non ipsum. Ipsum inuisibiliter, et non ipsum uisibiliter.

Corpus enim Christi non in partes diuiditur uel dentibus laceratur, cum sit immortale et impassibile. Vnde beatus Augustinus: «Quando Christus manducatur, reficit, non deficit; nec quando manducamus, partes de illo facimus.» Fractio enim et diuisio et consimilia ad speciem 25 referuntur.

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1-2 In hunc ... incorporatur *om. A* || 4 et<sup>2</sup> manducate<sup>2</sup> *om. A* | corporaliter ] sacramentaliter *Mo* || 7-8 Alioquin ... sacramenta *om. A* || 7 Alioquin *JRUV Mo*, aliquando *BH* || 12 sed ] si *A* | alioqui *A Mo* || 13 caro Christi digne *A* || 13-14 superius dictum ] supradictum *A* || 22 dilaceratur *A* || 23 cum *JRUV Mo*, ut *ABHQ*

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10-11 Jo 6, 64 || 16 Jo 6, 61

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17-18 cfr Saint Augustine, Tractatus in euangelium Joannis, 27, 5. Corp Chr, XXXVI, 272. PL, XXXV, 1617. || 19-20 cfr Saint Augustine, Enarrationes in psalmos, 98, 9. Corp Chr, XXXIX, 1386. PL, XXXVII, 1265. || 23-25 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, cc. 58, 70, 75.

⟨DE INSTITUTIONE EUCHARISTIE:  
DE IEIUNIO, TEMPORE, ET RATIONIBUS INSTITUTIONIS⟩

Hoc autem corporis et sanguinis sui sacramentum dominus in cena, postquam agnum typicum manducauerunt, instituit. Postquam uero figuralia compleuit, ueritas figuris et lux umbre successit. Vt autem hoc sacramentum uelut ultimum testatoris mandatum artius memorie  
5 infigeret, corpus et sanguinem suum post cenam tradidit discipulis discessurus ab eis. Vnde beatus Augustinus: «Saluator, ut uehementius commendaret misterii illius altitudinem, ultimum hoc uoluit infigere cordibus et memorie discipulorum a quibus ad passionem digressurus erat. Et ideo non precepit quo deinceps ordine sumeretur, ut apostolis  
10 per quos ecclesias dispositurus erat seruaret hunc locum.»

Hec sunt uerba Augustini, ex quibus patet, quod licet dominus hoc sacramentum non dederit ieiunis, nichilominus tamen obseruanda est ecclesie consuetudo, que ex institutione apostolorum, qui ordinauerunt testamentum eius super sacrificia, ieiunis precepit hec sumere sacra-  
15 menta. Vnde beatus Augustinus: «Placuit spiritui sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti prius in os christiani dominicum corpus intret quam exteri cibi.» Et apostolus: «Conuenientibus uobis in unum, iam non est dominicam cenam manducare. Vnusquisque enim cenam suam presumit ad manducandum.» Arguebat illos qui non ieiuni acce-  
20 debant ad sacramenta. Infirmis tamen in necessitate quamuis non ieiunis, licet uiaticum recipere. Credimus autem quod, si sacerdos tota nocte non dormierit, nichilominus illucescente die iudicaretur ieiunus et posset sacramenta conficere.

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2 enim *Mo* || 3 figurale *Mo* || 5 infigeret *A*, infigerent *B Mo* || 6 Augustinus *add.* ait *A Mo* || 9 ordine deinceps *A* || 12 seruanda *A* || 14 praecipit *Mo* | hec ] hoc *A* || 14–15 sacramenta sumere *Mo* | sacramentum *A* | precepit ieiunis sumere hoc sacramentum *A* || 16 honore *A* || 17 nobis *Mo* || 18–19 suam cenam *A Vulg.* || 19–20 accedunt *A* || 20 sacramentum *A* || 21 accipere *A*

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13–14 cfr Ps 49, 5 || 17–19 cfr 1 Cor 11, 20

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2–3 cfr Saint Leo, Sermo 58, De Passione Domini, VII, c. 1, *ad sensum*. PL, LIV, 332. || 6–10 cfr Saint Augustine, Epistola ad inquisitiones Januarii, 54, 8. CSEL, XXXIV, 167. PL, XXXIII, 203. || 15–17 cfr Saint Augustine, Epistola ad inquisitiones Januarii, 54, 8. CSEL, XXXIV, 167. PL, XXXIII, 203.

Sed et hora qua dominus in cena memoratum instituit sacrificium ab ecclesia non est obseruanda, non enim post horam nonam qua in cruce mortuus est dominus debet sacerdos celebrare. Licet autem ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam in cruce pendens se ipsum ueram hostiam pro nobis optulerit, sustinet tamen ecclesia ad cautelam 5 propter populum et imminentes necessitates huiusmodi tempus in celebrando sacerdotes preuenire. Tempus enim non est de substantia sacramenti. Vnde in natali domini missa de nocte ex institutione ecclesie celebratur. Dominus autem post cenam nocte imminente hoc sacramentum celebrauit, ut legis figuram adimpleret. Nam quarta 10 decima die primi mensis ad uesperam agnum typicum ex mandato legis manducabant.

Diuersis causis autem dominus hoc sacramentum instituere uoluit et ecclesie celebrandum reliquit. Vna est, quam ipse dominus assignauit. «Hoc facite», inquit, «in mei memoriam», siue «in meam commemo- 15 rationem.» Et apostolus: «Quotiescumque manducaueritis panem hunc et calicem biberitis, mortem domini annuntiabitis donec ueniat.» Dominus enim, qui corpus et animam sumpsit ut in nobis utrumque sanaret, quasi «peregre proficiscens», hoc pignus dilectionis sue et memoriale salutis nostre relinquere uoluit, ut egrotum letargicum 20 excitaret, ne tantum mortis Christi beneficium aliquando obliuioni traderet. Hoc est ueri Helye pallium quod recedens reliquit Helyseo, corpus scilicet et sanguinem suum sacramentorum formis inuolutum, ut adimpleret quod ecclesie sue promiserat, dicens: «Ecce ego uobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi»; inuisibiliter scilicet sub 25 specie sacramenti, sub alia forma sed in propria substantia. Quod enim dicit: «Pauperes semper habebitis uobiscum, me autem non semper habebitis», referendum est ad corporalem et uisibilem ipsius habitationem.

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3 sacerdos debet *A* || 4 horam *om. Mo* || 5 ad ] propter *A* || 6 huius *A* | temporis *A* || 11 mensis primi *A* || 11-12 legis mandato *A* || 12 edebant *A* || 13 autem causis *A Mo* || 15 inquit *om. A* | siue ] uel *A* || 21 Christi mortis *A* || 27 semper pauperes *A Vulg.* | habetis *A Vulg.*

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10-12 cfr Ex 12, 2-11 || 15-16 cfr Lc 22, 19 || 16-17 cfr 1 Cor 11, 26 || 19 Mt 25, 14 || 24-25 cfr Mt 28, 20 || 27-28 cfr Mt 26, 11

Aliam causam institutionis huius sacramenti assignat beatus Augustinus dicens: «Quia cotidie labimur, cotidie Christus pro nobis mystice immolatur», id est, eius immolatio cotidie representatur. Et Eusebius: «Quia corpus assumptum ablaturus erat ab oculis et illa-  
 5 turus sideribus, necessarium erat ut die cene sacramentum nobis corporis et sanguinis consecraret, ut coleretur iugiter per misterium quod semel offerebatur in pretium.»

⟨DE MATERIA EUCHARISTIE: PANIS⟩

Ad esse autem huius sacramenti quatuor exiguntur quasi de substantia ipsius: materia scilicet panis et uini, forma uerborum, intentio,  
 10 et ordo conficientis.

Panis debet esse triticeus, nam Christus grano frumenti comparauit se, dicens: «Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terra mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet.» De pane autem ordeaceo non potest fieri confectio nec de alio quam de frumento. Similiter de granis uel farina frumenti  
 15 non possent confici sacramenta, oportet enim quod aspersione aque cum farina et decoctione fiat panis, ut obseruetur misterium, Christus enim seipsum pani comparauit. Sicut enim panis ex diuersis granis, ita corpus Christi ex diuersis componitur membris. Granum igitur frumenti quod cecidit in terram, mola crucis confractum, et aqua lacrimarum uel ea que de latere eius exiuit conspersum, et igne passionis  
 20 decoctum, factus est panis animarum. Postquam enim fuit coctus in ara crucis, factus est esibilis. Si autem farina triticea uino uel oleo uel alio liquore conspergatur, non proprie dicitur panis, nec de tali pane credimus posse confici. Hoc enim esset contra institutionem domini, qui de pane, id est, ex farina frumenti aqua conspersa sacramenta confecit. Aqua enim coniuncta farine, populum Christo sociatum  
 25 potest designare.

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1 huius sacramenti institutionis *A* || 2 Christus pro nobis cotidie *A* || 3 mystice *om. A* || 14 aliquo *A* || 15 aspersione *HJRVV Mo*, aspersionem *B*, conspersione *AQ* || 17 pani seipsum *Mo* || 25 id est *om. A Mo* [ ex ] et *Mo*

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12-13 Jo 12, 24

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2-3 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 72. || 4-7 cfr Eusebius Emisenus, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 35.

Debet igitur sacerdos purissimum frumentum cum magna diligentia et cautella eligere, ex quo hostias debet facere. Si tamen unum uel duo grana ordeï frumento misceantur, illud solum quod de frumento est transsubstantiatur. Si autem tantum misceretur ut unum compositum ex duobus efficeretur, nisi partes in natura sua remaneant, nulla 5 prorsus fit transsubstantiatio. Dicto tamen quod partium natura in illo mixto permaneat, id solum quod de frumento est transsubstantiatur.

Sed et panis fermentatus, si fuerit fermentum de frumento, transsubstantiatur in sacramento. Nec tamen sic oportere fieri concedimus, 10 sed secundum institutionem domini de pane azimo debet confici sacramentum. Dominus enim in cena secundum ritum legis agnum paschalem comedit quarta decima die primi mensis ad uesperam. Tunc autem non inueniebatur panis fermentatus apud hebreos, precipiente domino in Exodo: «Septem diebus fermentatum in domibus 15 uestris non inuenietur. Qui comederit fermentatum, peribit anima eius de cetu Israel.» Ex quo patet quod dominus panem azimum in corpus suum consecrauit. Vnde et hanc consuetudinem apostoli reliquerunt ecclesie, et maxime hunc ritum sacrificii romana ecclesia habuit a beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo, a quibus dum uiuerent 20 ordinationem accepit, quos et mortuos usque hodie custodit.

Hunc sacrificandi ritum greci, postquam tunicam domini inconsumibilem inuidia latinorum diuiserunt, ne romanam ecclesiam imitari uiderentur, pertinaci contumacia mutauerunt et usque hodie ex fermentato conficiunt, non attendentes misterium neque uirtutem scripturarum. Vt enim in hoc supereminenti sacramento nichil corruptionis esse demonstratur, sed in azimis sinceritatis et ueritatis epulando 25 uetus fermentum expurgetur, non utimur fermentato, sed panem azimum consecramus. Sicut enim panis azimus de pura massa sine fermento conficitur, ita Christus ex illibata uirgine sine corruptione 30 corpus assumpsit. Et sicut aqua commiscetur farine de frumento absque fermento, ita populus fidelium absque corruptione adheret Christo.

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2 uel] aut *Mo* || 4 ut] quod *A* || 6 tamen] enim *A* | naturae *Mo* || 7 permaneant *A Mo* || 11 constitutionem *A* | azimo pane *A* || 15–16 non inuenietur in domibus uestris *Mo Vulg.* || 25 neque] et *A*

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15–17 cfr Ex 12, 19; 12, 15 || 27–28 1 Cor 5, 7–8

Greci tamen errorem suum mendaciter et pertinaciter nituntur defendere, fingentes de corde suo panem fermentatum significare corpus animatum, panem azimum quasi corpus mortuum et sine anima reputantes. Affirmant preterea quod quarta decima die mensis primi,  
 5 luna scilicet quarta decima, crucifixus fuit dominus et immolatus fuit uerus agnus. Vespere autem precedente, quando licebat uti fermentato, dominus anticipauit manducare cum discipulis suis agnum paschalem et tunc de fermentato pane, ut asserunt, confecit sacramenta. Die autem sequenti fuit paschalis sollempnitas. Vnde iudei non intrauerunt  
 10 pretorium ne contaminarentur sed comederent pascha. Iohannes enim euangelista testatur quod ante diem pasche Ihesus cenauit cum discipulis.

Nos autem errori grecorum ita respondemus, quod quinta decima luna erat dies sollempnis pasche iuxta illud: «Et in quinta decima die  
 15 sollempnitatem celebrabitis altissimo domino.» Quarta decima igitur non erat sollempnis, nisi a uespera in qua dominus agnum paschalem secundum legem comedit, qui etiam dicebatur pascha, sicut ait euangelista Matheus: «Quod prima die azimorum accesserunt discipuli ad Ihesum dicentes: Vbi uis paremus tibi manducare pascha? Et uespere  
 20 facto, discubuit cum duodecim.» Patet igitur quod Christus non anticipauit diem uel horam, sed ea die fecit cum discipulis suis pascha qua necessario fiebat in lege. Si tamen anticipasset quasi moriturus in pascha, credendum est quod ipse, qui non uenit soluere legem sed adimplere, secundum ritum legis, id est, cum azimis pascha mandu-  
 25 caret. Ad edendum autem azima septem diebus oportebat eos mundos esse, qui omnes sollempnes erant, etsi non adeo sicut primus et ultimus. Vnde quolibet septem dierum non poterant introire pretorium ne contaminarentur, sed manducarent in azimis quod est manducare pascha. Vel exponatur hoc modo, ne contaminarentur, si manducarent  
 30 pascha, id est, in pascha.

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4 quod *om.* *A* || 6 uti *add.* de *A* || 7 suis *om.* *Mo* || 11 quod ] quia *A* | cenauit Ihesus *A* || 12 discipulis *add.* suis *A* || 17 etiam ] autem *Mo* || 18–19 ad Ihesum discipuli *A* || 19 comedere *A* || 21 suis *om.* *A* *Mo* || 24 implere *A* || 28 in azimis manducarent *A* || 29 si ] sed *Mo*

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9–10 cfr Jo 18, 28 || 11–12 cfr Jo 13, 1–2 || 14–15 cfr Num 29, 12 || 18–20 cfr Mt 26, 18; 26, 20 || 23–24 cfr Mt 5, 17 || 27–28 cfr Jo 18, 28

## &lt;DE MATERIA EUCHARISTIE: UINUM&gt;

Sicut ex frumento nisi inde fiat panis non potest fieri consecratio, ita ex uua uel acino nisi exprimatur uinum, non conficitur sacramentum. Ex musto autem, licet sit dulce, potest sacramentum confici. Est enim uinum, sicut dicitur in euangelio: «Nemo mittit uinum nouum in utres ueteres.» De acredine autem uue, quia nondum uinum est, 5 non potest fieri sacramentum. De aceto autem dicunt quod sit uinum, licet corruptum. Secundum hoc de ipso potest confici sacramentum. Quibusdam uidetur quod non sit uinum, eo quod sit frigidum, cum uinum naturaliter sit calidum. Quia de huiusmodi est dubium, semper debet eligi purum et optimum uinum de quo fiat sacramentum. In 10 quibusdam autem regionibus, eo quod non habeant uinum nisi a remotissimis partibus deferatur, abluunt aqua pannum uino intinctum, ut inde conficiant sacramentum. Quamdiu autem retinet naturam uini, licet educatur de panno, potest inde fieri consecratio.

Aqua autem cum uino semper debet commisceri ratione institutionis 15 domini tum ratione misterii. Dominus enim in cena uinum limphatum consecrauit, uino enim puro nemo utitur in partibus illis. Vnde beatus Cyprianus sic ait: «Si quis de antecessoribus uel ignoranter uel simpliciter non obseruauerit quod nos dominus facere exemplo uel magisterio docuit, potest simplicitati eius indulgentia domini uenia concedi. 20 Nobis uero non potest ignosci, qui nunc a domino instructi sumus, ut calicem domini cum uino mixtum secundum quod dominus optulit offeramus.» Et Salomon ait: «Sapientia edificauit sibi domum, excidit

3 confici sacramentum *A* || 5 utres *A* *Mo*, uteres *B* || 6 dicunt *om.* *A* || 7 corruptum *add.* dicunt tamen *A* || 9 sit naturaliter *Mo* | quia *add.* igitur *A* *Mo* | dubium est *Mo* || 15 semper cum uino *A* | commisceri *add.* tum *Mo* || 16 tum ] cum *A* || 19 obseruauit *A* | facere *om.* *A* || 22 cum *om.* *A* | uino *add.* aqua *B*

4-5 Lc 5, 37 || 23-p. 222, 1 cfr Prov 9, 1

16 In the classical and medieval dictionaries *limphatus* normally denotes mad, enraged, or insane, while *limphaticus* has the meaning of watery. Du Cange, however, defines *limpho*, -ari as *vinum lymphæ seu aqua diluere*. Thus, the adjectival form of Jacques de Vitry comes from the past participle. *Vino limphato* is employed in the ordinances of Calatrava (see J. O'Callaghan, *Difiniciones of the Order of Calatrava enacted by Abbot William II of Morimund*, April 2, 1468, *Traditio*, 14 (1958), 240). || 18-23 cfr Saint Cyprian, *Epistola* 36 ad Caecilium de sacramento Dominici calicis, 17. CSEL, III, 715. PL, IV, 399.

columpnas septem, posuit mensam, miscuit uinum»; ratione enim misterii debet aqua uinum misceri.

Aqua enim labilis et instabilis genus humanum fluctuans designat. Aque enim multe, populi multi. Vnde aqua uino miscetur, ut populus  
5 Christo sociari designetur. Non solum autem sanguis redemptionis sed aqua ablutionis de latere eius processit. Vnde beatus Ambrosius ait: «De latere eius fluxit aqua et sanguis; aqua ut mundaret, sanguis ut redimeret. Quare de latere? Quia unde culpa, inde gratia. Culpa per feminam, gratia per Christum.»

10 Cum igitur secundum Christi institutionem debeat fieri consecratio, uidetur quibusdam, quod sine aqua uinum transsubstantiari non possit, maxime propter uerba beati Cypriani dicentis: «Non potest calix domini esse aqua sola aut uinum solum, sicut corpus domini non potest esse sola aqua aut sola farina, nisi utrumque fuerit coadu-  
15 natum et panis unius compage solidatum.»

Nobis tamen uidetur quod, si ignorantia uel obliuione, et non introducat errorem uel heresim, aliquis aquam non apponat, licet grauiter delinquat, non tamen irritum est sacramentum. Quod autem dicit Cyprianus: «Non potest», intelligendum est de iure, «Non potest»,  
20 id est, «Non debet». Nam modica aqua quandoque multo uino admiscetur et a uino absorbetur et fit totum uinum; ex quo uino conficitur sacramentum.

Ex sola aqua autem non potest fieri sacramentum. Vnde cauere debet sacerdos, ne modicum uinum cum multa aqua commisceat. Si  
25 enim uinum absorbeatur a totali aqua, irritum est sacramentum. Vnde semper plus uini minus aque debet apponi.

Si autem equaliter misceantur et ex illis unum tertium efficiatur, secundum opinionem eorum qui dicunt quod non remaneret natura partium, sicut in pane natura farine uel aque non remanet, ex hoc

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1 enim ] autem *A* || 2 aqua *add.* et *A* | uino *Mo* || 5 sed *add.* et *Mo* || 7 profluxit *A* || 13 esse ] dici *A* || 14 potest *om.* *Mo* | aqua sola *A Mo* || 14-15 coadunatum ] coordinatum *A* || 16 uel ] aut *A* | non *add.* ut *Mo* || 17 aquam non apponat aliquis *A* || 23 autem *om.* *A* | autem aqua *Mo* || 24 admisceat *A* || 27 unum ] uinum *Mo* || 28 remanet *A Mo* || 29 aque *add.* que *A*

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7-9 cfr Saint Ambrose, De Sacramentis, Lib. V, c. 1, 4. CSEL, LXXIII, 60-61. PL, XVI, 466. || 12-15 cfr Saint Cyprian, Epistola 63 ad Caecilium de sacramento Dominici calicis, 13. CSEL, III 712. PL, IV, 396.



mixto nullum conficitur sacramentum. Nobis autem uidetur quod partium natura remaneat, nam uinum per artificium separari potest ab aqua. Vnde uinum transsubstantiatur, aqua in sua natura remanente. Sicut si granum ordei cum frumento misceatur, quod ibi de frumento est tantum transsubstantiatur.

5

Illi autem opinioni non consentimus que asserit, quod sicut uinum conuertitur in sanguinem, ita aqua calicis in aquam que de latere Christi fluxit, permutatur. Numquid dominus in cena, antequam de latere eius exisset aqua, confecit sacramenta?

Illam autem opinionem penitus reprobamus que mendaciter asserit, quod sicut uinum in sanguinem ita aqua commixta uino in fleuma conuertitur seu in aquosos humores, qui de latere Christi, ut dicunt, emanauerunt. Non enim in fleumate sed in aqua baptizamus, cuius baptismi sacramentum de Christi latere una cum sanguine redemptionis profluxit.

15

Licet autem aqua sumatur cum sanguine, quia est sacramentum populi, et ualde coniuncta sacramento sanguinis, propter huiusmodi sumptionem non iudicatur solui ieiunium, et idcirco eodem die, si necesse esset, posset iterum communicari. Post primam autem ablutionem non posset, eo quod aqua qua abluatur calix uel uinum non est sacramentum uel sacramento coniunctum. Vnde quando sacerdos iterum debet celebrare, debet ablutionem diligenter conseruare et accipere post secundam communionem. Non enim dicimus quod ex tactu sanguinis uinum ablutionis conuertatur in sanguinem sed remanet purum uinum, licet ex contactu sancte rei fit sanctificatum, sicut aqua fluminis aque benedictae commixta dicitur sanctificari.

25

Mentiuntur ergo qui dicunt, quod in die parasceue corpus Christi ex contactu mutat uinum in sanguinem. Illo enim die corpus sed non sanguis sumitur. Neutrum autem conficitur, eo quod die illo in ueritate immolata fuit hostia, et ideo non immolatur in figura. Patet ergo ex premissis, quod magis delinquit sacerdos uinum quam aquam omitendo, quia solum uinum transsubstantiatur in sanguinem sed aqua non conuertitur.

30

Vnde si postea aduertat quod non posuerit in calice nisi uinum,

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4-5 est de frumento *A* || 5 tantum *om. A* || 7 sanguinem *AQHJRVV*, sanguine *B* | aquam *HUV Mo*, aqua *ABQ*, *om. JR* || 11 permixta *A* || 12 in *om. Mo* || 13 fleumate *A* || 17 coniuncta *add. est A* | huius *A* || 23 sanctam *A<sup>1</sup>*, secundam *A<sup>2</sup>* || 28 uinum mutat *A* || 29 conficiatur *Mo*

facta consecratione non debet iterando consecrationem reincipere, sed solummodo debet aquam infundere. Si autem aduerterit quod solam aquam posuerit, debet uinum apponere et consecrare. Si autem dubitauerit utrum uinum cum aqua apposuerit, et paululum cum digito  
 5 gustando probauerit quod sit aqua pura, debet uinum apponere et consecrare, sed eo die non debet, ut dicunt, communicare, eo quod aquam gustando soluerit ieiunium.

⟨DE FORMA EUCHARISTIE⟩

De forma uerborum dicimus, quod ad prolationem horum uerborum:  
 «Hoc est corpus meum, hic est calix sanguinis mei, noui et eterni  
 10 testamenti, misterium fidei, qui pro uobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum», fit transsubstantiatio panis et uini in corpus et sanguinem Christi.

Matheus ait: «Cenantibus autem eis, accepit Ihesus panem, benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis, et ait: Accipite, et comedite,  
 15 hoc est corpus meum. Et accipiens calicem gratias egit, et dedit illis dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes: Hic est enim sanguis meus noui testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.»

Marcus ait: «Manducantibus illis accepit Ihesus panem, et benedicens fregit et dedit eis, et ait: Sumite, hoc est corpus meum. Et accepto  
 20 calice gratias agens dedit eis, et biberunt ex illo omnes. Et ait illis: Hic est sanguis meus noui testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur.»

Lucas ait: «Accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro uobis datur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Similiter et calicem postquam cenauit dicens:  
 25 Hic est calix nouum testamentum in sanguine meo, quod pro uobis tradetur.»

Iohannes ait: «Cum intinxisset panem, dedit Iude Symonis scariothis, et post buccellam tunc introiuit in eum sathanas.»

4 posuerit *A* || 6 ut dicunt non debet *A* || 10 pro<sup>2</sup> *A Mo, om. B* || 13 illis *A* || 14 dedit *A* || 20 illis ] eis *A* || 21 qui *A Vulg.*, quo *B* || 25 meo sanguine *A* | quod ] qui *Vulg.* || 27 panem ] buccellam *A* || 28 post ] potest *Mo*

13-17 Mt 26, 26-28 || 18-21 Mc 14, 22-24 || 22-26 cfr Lc 22, 19-20 || 27-28 cfr Jo 13, 26-27

9-11 cfr Missale Romanum, Canon Missae.

Quis igitur quedam que dicuntur in canone que nullus euangelistarum narrat, ausus est apponere, scilicet: «Eleuatis oculis in celum», «eterni testamenti», «misterium fidei»? Sciendum igitur est quod non omnia que fecit uel dixit dominus narrauerunt euangeliste. Apostoli autem multa suppleuerunt. Vnde predictam formam consecrationis qua utimur in canone apostoli a domino habuerunt et ecclesia ab apostolis.

Hiis autem uerbis domini: «Hoc est corpus meum, hic est calix sanguinis mei», et cetera, utitur sacerdos recitatie tantum, sicut cum ipse dicit: «Ego sum uitis uera», «Ego sum panis uerus». Alioquin mentiretur, si enunciatiue uteretur. Totalis igitur illa uox ponitur recitatie ad officium, id est, ad illud faciendum de officio sacerdotis ad quod instituta est a domino, qui predictis uerbis dedit uirtutem, ut ad sacerdotis prolationem fieret transsubstantiatio. Ea autem que precedunt uel subsecuntur in canone non sunt de substantia sacramenti, sed causa deuotionis et maioris sollempnitatis addita sunt a sanctis.

Dubitatur a quibusdam, quid demonstretur per pronomen, cum dicitur «Hoc est corpus meum.» Si enim panis demonstretur, falsum dicitur; non enim panis est, uel erit corpus Christi. Si demonstretur corpus Christi, iterum falsa uidetur locutio, quia nondum facta est transsubstantiatio, et adhuc purus panis presens est in altari. Hec questio facile soluitur, secundum quod predicta uerba a sacerdote proferuntur. Non enim pronomine ad demonstrandum, sed totali uoce utitur recitatie. Sed nonne dominus Ihesus Christus hiis uerbis usus est enunciatiue? Quid igitur demonstrauit, quando per pronomen demonstratiuum protulit? Satis competenter responderi potest, quod demonstrauit corpus quod sub forma panis futurum erat in fine enunciationis, et ita demonstratio refertur ad ultimum instans prolationis.

Quibusdam uidetur quod forma panis demonstretur, ut sit sensus:

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2 celum *add.* et *A* || 4 dixit uel fecit *A* || 9 cum *om.* *A* || 12 recitatione *Mo* || 16 sed ] et *A* || 17 per *om.* *Mo* | pronomine *Mo*, nomen *A* || 21 est in altari presens *A* || 24 Christus *om.* *A* *Mo* || 25 per *om.* *Mo* | pronomen ] nomen *A* || 27 demonstraerit *Mo*

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8 Mt 26, 26 || 8-9 cfr Lc 22, 20; Mt 26, 28 || 10 Jo 15, 1 | cfr Jo 6, 35; 6, 41

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2-3 cfr Missale Romanum, Canon Missae.

Sub hoc est corpus meum. Verbum autem enunciationis secundum hoc refertur ad ultimum instans prolotionis, tunc enim facta transsubstantiatione Christi corpus sub forma panis futurum erat. Aliqui dicunt quod sub hoc sensu usus est dominus hiis uerbis: «Hoc est», id est, in  
 5 proximo fiet corpus meum.

Nos tamen non recipimus huiusmodi locutiones: panis erit uel fiet corpus Christi, ubi non manet idem panis in substantia. Verba autem que ad transsubstantiationem pertinent in huiusmodi locutionibus recipimus, scilicet panis mutabitur uel transsubstantiabitur uel con-  
 10 uertetur in corpus Christi.

Sunt qui satis rationabiliter dicunt quod dominus secreta quadam uirtute, priusquam uerba predicta proferret, scilicet dum benediceret, confecit sacramenta, deinde enunciatue protulit uerba demonstrando corpus suum. Quibus uerbis contulit efficaciam, ut postea fieret trans-  
 15 substantiatio ad eorum prolotionem.

Sed numquid conficeret sacerdos, si equitando et in ueste seculari qualibet hora cum intentione conficiendi super panem et uinum proferret predicta uerba? Dicunt quod grauiter peccaret, nec minus tamen conficeret, cum tempus et uestimenta et alia uerba que premittuntur  
 20 uel subsequuntur non sint de substantia sacramenti. Si autem uerbis illis tamquam propriis utatur et non recitatitue, irrita est pronuntiatio, nec aliqua fit transsubstantiatio.

Predicta et multa alia obiciunt contra nos heretici qui, dum maiestatem perscrutantur, opprimuntur a gloria, dum quod residuum est in  
 25 tam profundo sacramento, igni, id est, spiritui sancto, reseruare contradicunt. Quinimmo ossa regis a Ydumee in cinerem redigere non formidant.

Dicunt ergo, dum panis transsubstantiatur in corpus, uel panis qui est, in corpus quod non est, uel econuerso, nam panis et corpus eodem  
 30 tempore non sunt in altari, respondemus quod dum uerba proferuntur usque ad ultimum prolotionis instans, panis qui est transsubstantiatur in corpus quod nondum est in altari, sed postea in fine prolotionis illic erit. Et tunc uerum erit quod panis qui non est, transsubstantiatur

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4 quod *om.* A || 8 substantiationem A || 11 sunt *add.* quidam A | quadam secreta A || 14 uerbis ] nobis A || 16 et ] uel A || 18 tamen minus A || 20 sunt A || 26 a *om.* A

in corpus quod est. Licet autem prolatio uerborum successiua sit, transsubstantiatio non fit successiue, ut pars panis in partem corporis conuertatur, sed totus panis in totum corpus transsubstantiatur.

〈DE FORMA EUCHARISTIE: PARTES〉

Quibusdam autem uidetur, ut quilibet pars panis in totum corpus transsubstantiatur, eo quod facta fractione totum Christi corpus est 5 sub qualibet parte forme, quemadmodum dicit beatus Iheronimus: «Singuli accipiunt Christum dominum, et in singulis portionibus totus est.» Et beatus Ylarius: «Vbi est pars corporis, est totum», id est, pars forme. Et postea subiungit: «Eadem ratio est in corpore domini, que in manna que in eius figura precessit, de quo dicitur: Qui plus 10 collegerat non habuit amplius, neque qui minus parauerat habuit minus. Non est quantitas uisibilis in hoc estimanda misterio.»

Nobis uidetur quod, forma existente integra, totum corpus sub tota forma continetur et non sub partibus. Non enim sub partibus infinitis infinities est Christus. Facta autem fractione, sub qualibet 15 parte incipit totus esse, sicut in integro speculo una resultat ymago, facta autem fractione apparet ymago in qualibet parte. Sic igitur ignis in plures partes diuisus non minuitur, sic idem et integrum Christi corpus sub qualibet parte forme sumitur. Siue autem parua sit forma siue magna, totum Christi corpus sub illa continetur. Nec tamen illi 20 commensuratur, nec est comparatio corporis glorificati ad quantitatem forme, ut dicatur, excedit uel exceditur uel coequatur. Sicut ergo in eadem quantitate sol quandoque sub magna quandoque sub parua latet nube, ita corpus dominicum in sua quantitate continetur sub magna et sub parua panis specie. 25

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4 autem ] tamen *A* | ut ] quod *A* || 5 transsubstantietur *Mo* | confractione *A* || 7 totum *A* *Mo* || 8 totus *A* || 9 est ratio *Mo* || 11 amplius habuit *A* | neque ] et nec *A* || 11–12 minus habuit *A* || 12 est *add.* ergo *A* | estimanda in hoc *A* || 16 in *om.* *Mo* || 17 in ] sub *A* | sicut *Mo* || 18–19 corpus Christi *Mo*

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10–12 cfr Ex 16, 18

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7–8 Saint Jerome, see above, p. 205, 4. || 8 cfr Saint Hilary, *Homilia V* post Pascha, in Gratian, *Decretum*, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 78. || 9–12 cfr Saint Hilary, *Homilia V* post Pascha, in Gratian, *Decretum*, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 78.

〈DE FORMA EUCHARISTIE: LOCUS〉

Corpus enim Christi non commensuratur loco corporali et uisibili. Siue enim in parua siue in magna recludatur pixide, in eadem permanet quantitate. Vnde intrauit ad discipulos clauso hostio absque aliquo obstaculo uel partium per quam ingressus est diuisione. In hoc  
 5 enim ex sui subtilitate ad naturam accidit anime, quod sicut anima in diuersis est corporis partibus, ita Christi corpus idem est in diuersis altaribus. In quo etiam gloria corporis eius alia transcendit glorificata seu glorificanda corpora, que ita erunt in uno loco quod in eodem instanti non erunt in alio, licet ex agilitate sua ab uno loco in alium  
 10 quantumcumque remotum in ictu oculi transire possint. Sicut igitur hominis uerbum totum simul est in auribus diuersorum, ita Christus in eodem momento totus est in celo, totus in altari sub sacramento.

Cum igitur Christi corpus loco materiali non commensuretur nec circumscribatur, improprie dicitur locale, nisi forte dicatur proprie  
 15 contineri in loco glorificato. Dicitur autem esse in loco siue locale, non quia ita contineatur in uno loco quod non in alio, sed quia ab uno loco ita comprehenditur, quod alius locus est in quo non continetur. Secundum hunc loquendi modum, cum corpus Christi in diuersis locis sit et sub diuersis formis, quando plures hostie consecrantur,  
 20 cum una sit iuxta uel supra aliam, possunt huiusmodi locutiones concedi. Corpus Christi est iuxta se uel supra se uel remouetur a se, ratione scilicet diuersorum locorum et diuersarum formarum. Et secundum hoc potest intelligi hoc quod ait beatus Gregorius: «Vno eodemque momento et in celo rapitur ministerio angelorum conso-  
 25 ciandum corpori Christi et ante oculos sacerdotis in altari uidetur.» Idem igitur corpus prout est sub alia forma sibi sociatur.

In altari autem uideri dicitur improprie; quod enim est continentis, attribuitur contento. Sicut manus inuoluta panno uideri dicitur, cum

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1 et uisibili ] inuisibili *Mo* || 2 parua ] magna *Mo* | magna ] parua *Mo* || 4 quas *A Mo* || 5 de natura *JRUV Mo* | accidit *edit.*, accedit *AB Mo* || 11 simul totum *A* | uniuersorum *A* | in<sup>2</sup> *om. Mo* || 13 corpus Christi *A* || 14 proprie dicatur *A* || 17 locus *om. A* || 20 supra uel iuxta *A* || 23 hoc<sup>2</sup> *om. A* || 24 rapitur et in celo *A* || 25 ante oculos ] oculis *Mo* || 27 altari *om. Mo* | enim ] cum *Mo*

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3 cfr Jo 20, 6

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23–25 cfr Saint Gregory, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 73.

tamen solus pannus uideatur. Possunt autem aliter uerba illa intelligi, ut ecclesia, que est corpus Christi, uirtute tanti sacramenti corpori Christi, quod est in celo, societur.

Simili modo exponi possunt hec uerba que dicuntur in canone: «Iube hec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum 5 in conspectu diuine maiestatis tue», id est, iube per huius sacrificii uirtutem corpus tuum, quod est ecclesia, et designatur per hec sacramenta, in sublime altare tuum perferri et corpori tuo in celo sociari. Vel ad deuotionem offerentis et uota populi, possunt hec uerba referri, ut sit sensus: «Iube hec perferri», id est, uota populi supplicantis; 10 «in sublime altare tuum», hoc est, «in conspectu diuine maiestatis tue», ut tibi placeant; «per manus sancti angeli tui», id est, ministerio Christi, uel ipsorum angelorum offerenti assistentium, quemadmodum testatur beatus Gregorius dicens: «Quis fidelium habere dubium possit in ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis uocem celos aperiri, in illo 15 misterio angelorum choros adesse, summis ima sociari, terrena celestibus iungi.»

Simili modo cum dicitur in canone: «Supra que propitio ac sereno uultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel», et cetera, ad deuotionem 20 et meritum offerentis, referuntur hec uerba. Nam Christus in altari patri oblatus absque comparatione plus placet deo quam ea que optulerunt Abel, Abraham et Melchisedech.

#### <DE FORMA EUCHARISTIE: ACCIDENTIA>

Sed adhuc, sic obicit et oblatrat hereticus. Numquid aliquid album et rotundum uidetur in sacramento altaris? Gustu etiam percipitur, 25 et in tanta quantitate potest sumi, quod inde quis potest satiari uel inebriari. Illud etiam potest comburi, putrescere et a muribus corrodi, et postquam comestum fuerit per uomitum potest emitti, et similia

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6 sacramenti *A* || 13 ipsorum ] sanctorum *A* || 16 choros angelorum *A* || 20 iusti pueri tui *A* || 24 sic ] si *A*, sicut *Mo* | latrat *A* || 24–25 rotundum et album *A* || 25 altaris sacramento *A* || 26 satiari *A* *Mo*, sociari *B* || 28 et<sup>1</sup> *om. A*

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5–6 cfr Missale Romanum, Canon Missae. || 14–17 cfr p. 228, 23 || 18–20 cfr Missale Romanum, Canon Missae.

que impii homines solent opponere contra fideles, non attendentes uirtutem dei et quod natura cedit miraculis.

- Salubre consilium dedit nobis apostolus, non plus sapere quam oportet, sed sapere ad sobrietatem, quemadmodum sapiens ait:
- 5 Altiora te ne quesieris, et fortiora te ne scruteris, sed que precepit deus illa cogita semper et in pluribus operibus eius, ne fueris curiosus. Illa enim uirtute qua omnia fecit de nichilo, dixit enim et facta sunt omnia, mandauit et creata sunt, qua feminam mutauit in statuam, uirgam in colubrum et aquas in sanguinem, mutare potest panem in
- 10 corpus suum et uinum in sanguinem. Si enim Helye uerbum ignem de celo potuit deponere, uerbum Christi non ualebit panem in corpus suum conuertere? Longe maius est id quod non est de nichilo procreare, quam id quod est in aliud transmutare. Et incomparabiliter maius est quod deus ita factus est homo cum non desistat esse deus, quam
- 15 quod ex pane ita fiat caro quod non desinit esse panis. Nonne per artificium terra conuertitur in ferrum et cinis in uitrum, et per naturam cibus conuertitur in carnem et ouum in uolucrum?

- Respondemus igitur hereticis, quod postquam facta est transsubstantiatio, forme panis et uini remanet contra consuetum nature
- 20 cursum sine subiecto. Non enim sunt in Christi corpore neque in aere tamquam in subiecto, sed Christi corpori assistunt et circumfunduntur aere. Cum enim Christi corpus glorificatum oculis mortalibus non sit uisibile uel manibus tractabile, non nisi sub formis sensibilibus posset percipi. Videtur igitur ibi uera albedo, et sapor in ueritate sentitur, quia
- 25 nichil ibi fantastice agitur. Non tamen album uidetur uel tangitur, quia albedine illa nullum subiectum afficitur. Forma autem tangitur, diuiditur et frangitur, putrescit et corrumpitur, concrematur et corroditur, corpore Christi integro et incommutabili permanente, et quod nichil incurrit coinquinatum, sicut solis radius absque sui coinquina-
- 30 tione per locum transit immundum. Sed et formis aliquem satiari et

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1 opponere solent *A Mo* || 4 oportet *add.* sapere *A Vulg.* || 5 scruteris] scrutatus fueris *A Vulg.* | praecipit *Mo* || 8 omnia *om.* *JRUV Mo* | qua | quia *A* || 10 uinum *AQJRU Mo*, carnem *BH* || 14 desistat] desit *Mo* || 15 fit *Mo* | non *om.* *Mo* | desinit] desistat *A* || 16 uitreum *Mo* || 18 igitur] ergo *Mo* || 20 corpore Christi *A* || 24 perspicui *A* || 25 uidetur album *A* || 26 quia ... tangitur *om.* *JRUV Mo* || 28 Christi *om.* *A* | et<sup>2</sup>] in *Mo*



sustentari uel etiam inebriari posse non negamus. Nam etiam absque sacramento solo odore uini aliquis posset inebriari. Et quidam dicuntur esse orientales homines, qui solo pomi odore sustentantur.

Inuenitur tamen scriptum, quod cum quidam sacerdos de ueritate huius sacramenti dubitaret, formam panis et uini post consecrationem 5 in magna sumpsit quantitate. Et cum aliquot diebus alium cibum non sumeret, ex debilitate et exinanitione fere defecit. Hoc in eo propter confirmationem eius in fide, dominus specialiter ostendit.

Forma igitur gustatur, sentitur, dentibus atteritur. Corpus autem non in uentrem descendit, sed ab ore ad cor transit. Comeditur sed 10 non consumitur. Quamdiu enim corporalis sensus formis afficitur, corporalis presentia non aufertur. Adest enim Christus corporali presentia in uisu et sapore et tactu.

Completa autem dispensatione, postquam forma desinit esse, non dicimus ipsum corporaliter adesse. Vnde post concremationem non 15 est Christi corpus sub cinere. Si autem aliquando reperiatur quod Christi corpus frangitur uel in tres partes diuiditur uel dentibus atteritur, predicta uerba et alia que notant corruptionem, non ad corporis substantiam incorruptibilem et impassibilem referenda sunt sed ad formam. Ea uero que notant sumptionem corpori Christi 20 proprie conueniunt, ut corpus Christi sumitur, recipitur, comeditur.

Quod autem reperitur Berengarius dixisse coram papa Nicholao, corpus Christi manibus sacerdotis tractari, frangi et dentibus atteri, referendum est ad formam. Quia uero de heresi suspectus habebatur, hec uerba protulit ad maiorem expressionem. Patet quod cum dicitur: 25 «Manducate ex hoc omnes», uerbum refertur ad carnem. Propositio uero que diuisionem significat refertur ad formam, ac si dicatur: «Comedite corpus integrum, sub forma diuisa.» Quantuscumque uero panis transeat in corpus Christi, propter hoc nil ei accrescit, sicut

4 cum *om.* *A* || 5 formam *HJRVVQ<sup>2</sup> Mo*, farinam *B*, famam *AQ<sup>1</sup>* || 6 quantitate sumpsit *A* || 7 inanitione *A* | defecerat *A* || 16 autem ] uero *A* || 25 cum *om.* *A* || 26 prepositio *Mo*

2-3 C. Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis*, 8. 2. 25. Strabo, *Geographia*, 15. 1. 57. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. C. Swan, n° 175, pp. 365-66. Pliny and Strabo drew their material on the Astomoi, the «mouthless», from the Ionian historian Megasthenes (fl. 300 B. C.), who was sent on an embassy to India by Seleucus I Nicator. These legendary people supposedly inhabited the headwaters of the Ganges. Sir John Mandeville, who repeats the story in his *Travels*, refers to their country as Pitani. || 22 Pope Nicholas II, 1058-1061.

cotidie manducatur, nec tamen diminuitur, quemadmodum uidua sareptena cotidie de farina manducabat, nec tamen diminuebatur uel decrescebat. Illesus enim Christus sumitur et integer manducatur, manducatus uiuit, quia occisus surrexit.

- 5 Cum autem in naturalibus duplex fiat mutatio: una secundum accidentia, eadem remanente substantia, ut quando album mutatur in nigrum uel sanum in egrum; alia secundum substantiam, quandoque scilicet substantialia desinunt esse et manet eadem prima materia, quam dicunt yle, ut cum aer conuertitur in ignem uel farina et aqua  
10 in panem; tertia et mirabili modo fit in hoc sacramento commutatio. Non enim remanet materia panis sed desinit esse, sicut eius forma substantialis. Sicut enim panitas non transit in humanitatem, ita primordialis panis materia non transit in corpus uel adiungitur corpori eius, nec componitur cum corporeitate que suam habet propriam  
15 materiam, nec ex hoc aliquid accrescit corpori Christi, sed prorsus quantum ad formam substantialem et materiam panis desinit esse. Quia tamen accidentia remanent, sub quibus Christi corpus continetur et sumitur, dicitur panis in Christi corpus conuerti.

- Quibusdam tamen uidetur, quod panis quantum ad materiam  
20 transeat in corpus Christi, et absque ullo augmento uniatur miraculose materie corporis Christi. Si enim panis quantum ad materiam et formam substantialem prorsus desinit esse et adnichilatur, et ibi incipit esse corpus Christi, non uidetur eis quod sic fiat aliqua transsubstantiatio; cum tantummodo corpus Christi succedat pani qui fuit  
25 ibi et desiit esse. Sicut si loco uini quod erat in cifo succedat aqua, ita quod nichil de uino transeat ad aquam sed prorsus esse desinat, quis propter hoc diceret quod ex uino aqua fieret, quin potius aqua uino succederet? Dicunt igitur quod ad hoc quod fiat conuersio uel transsubstantiatio panis in corpus Christi, oportet quod id quod erat

3 manducatur *om. Mo* || 5 duplex *om. AQ* || 6 manente *Mo* || 7 quando *A Mo* || 10 tertio *Mo* || 17 tamen] tantum *A Mo* | corpus *add. conuertitur JRUV Mo* || 17-18 continetur ... conuerti *om. JRUV Mo* || 20 ullo *om. A* || 21 corpus *Mo*, corpori *A* || 24 succedit *Mo* | panis *A* || 25 scypho *Mo*, calice *AQ* || 26 de uino] uini *A*

1-3 cfr 3 Rg 17, 15-16

3-4 Saint Augustine, see above p. 205, 18-19. || 12 *Panitas* is not found in any dictionaries or word-lists, yet it would seem to be a customary word coined in the medieval Schools.

panis desinat esse panis, quia perit eius forma substantialis et incipit esse id quod est corpus Christi uel quod est materia corporis Christi.

Et huic sententie uidetur consentire beatus Ambrosius cum ait: «Si tanta uis est in sermone domini Ihesu, ut inciperet esse quod non erat, quanto magis operatur, ut sint que erant et in aliud commutentur? 5 Et sic quod panis erat ante consecrationem iam corpus Christi est post consecrationem.»

Secundum hoc igitur concedendum est, quod id quod est panis erit corpus Christi. Non tamen panis erit corpus Christi, quia illud desinet esse panis. Secundum hanc opinionem, si id quod est panis 10 desinet esse panis et erit caro, uidetur quod incarnabitur et ita cotidie uidetur fieri noua incarnatio.

Nos autem iuxta primam opinionem, que asserit quod tam forma substantialis panis quam materia desinit esse, et remanent accidentia in aere sine subiecto, predicta Ambrosii uerba sic exponimus, ut sint 15 que erant et in aliud commutentur, id est, ut non penitus adnichilentur sed maneant quantum ad accidentia. Color enim et sapor et rotunditas forme et odor remanent ex pane, qui tamen desiit esse. Illud autem quod dicit, quod erat panis ante consecrationem iam corpus Christi est post consecrationem, id est, in corpus Christi conuertitur. Dicitur 20 autem conuerti in corpus, sicut dicunt grammatici quod homo dicitur ab humo, u mutata in o, non quia proprie uocalis in uocalem conuerti possit, sed quia loco unius uocalis ponitur altera, residuo communiter utrobique remanente. Sic loco panis qui desiit esse, manentibus accidentibus, Christus descendit in altare, sub quibus accidentibus 25 sumitur a sacerdote.

Securius tamen uidetur conuersionem seu transsubstantiationem panis in corpus Christi, que mirabilis est et miraculosa, simpliciter credere et modum conuersionis non discutere. Sicut confitemur simpliciter filium carnem assumpsisse, modum tamen incarnationis siue 30 unionis diuinitatis cum humanitate nemo in hac uita potest compre-

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3 consentire ] congruere *A* || 6 erat panis *Mo* | iam ... est *om.* *Mo* || 7 consecrationem *add.* panis esse desinat *Mo* || 11 incarnabitur *JRUV Mo*, incarnaliter *ABHQ* || 12 noua incarnatio fieri *A* || 15 uerba Ambrosii *A* || 17 remaneant *Mo* || 22 in o mutata *A* || 23 communiter ] conuenienter *Mo*, *om.* *A* || 29 conuersionis ] discretionis *AQ* || 30 filium *add.* dei *A* | siue ] seu *A*

hendere uel ad plenum intelligere. De quo dicit beatus Iohannes:  
«Non sum dignus soluere corrigiam calciamenti eius.»

⟨DE FORMA EUCHARISTIE: CONCOMITANTIA⟩

Licet autem totus Christus proprie sumatur in sacramento, panis  
tamen proprie non dicitur conuerti nisi in carnem. Si autem alicubi  
5 reperiatur quod conuertatur in Christum, ratione partis non ratione  
compositi, per accidens seu per synodochen intelligenda est locutio. E  
contrario cum dicitur caro Christi prodest digne accipienti, sic intelli-  
gitur a parte totum, id est, Christus prodest, si digne sumatur secundum  
carnem, alioquin caro non prodest quicquam.

10 Quoniam autem Christi corpus non potest esse sine sanguine uel  
sine anima, licet panis non conuertatur in sanguinem uel in animam,  
non tamen caro sine sanguine uel sine anima est in altari. Nec potest  
sumi caro quin sanguis sumatur, non tamen propter hoc sanguis  
comeditur uel bibitur. Sicut uinum cum ossa sumitur, non tamen  
15 propter hoc dicitur quod uinum bibatur, quia non per se in liquida  
substantia sumitur, nec uinum sed ossa manducatur.

Pari modo uinum conuertitur in sanguinem tantum et non in carnem,  
non tamen purus sanguis est in calice sed totus Christus cum anima et  
corpore. Sanguis enim numquam potest esse sine corpore. Cum igitur  
20 sanguis bibitur, corpus Christi sumitur. Non tamen comeditur quia  
non masticatur. Neque bibitur, cum non sit liquida substantia, sed  
ratione sanguinis, cum quo inseparabiliter permanet, sumi dicitur.

Patet igitur quod totus Christus primo sumitur quando corpus eius  
manducatur, secundo sumitur quando sanguis eius bibitur. Non tamen  
25 bis dicitur sumi neque propter hoc aliquis dicitur bis in die communi-  
cari propter modicam distantiam seu modicum temporis interuallum.

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3 proprie Christus *A* || 4 carne *Mo* || 6 synecdochen *Mo* || 7 sicut *A Mo* ||  
9 prodest *add.* caro *B* || 12 nec ] non *A* || 13 non ] nec *A* || 14 non ] nec *A* ||  
20–21 corpus ... bibitur *om.* *JRUV Mo* || 21 non<sup>2</sup> *om.* *A* || 22 sanguinis ] cor-  
poris *Mo* | inseparabiliter cum quo *A* || 24 sanguis *HJRUV Mo*, corpus *ABQ* |  
non ] nec *A* || 25–26 communicare *A*

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2 cfr Jo 1, 27

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6 *Synodochen* is not found in the dictionaries or word-lists but seems to be a  
medieval orthographical form of *synecdochen*.

Sicut non dicitur bis manducare qui primo et secundo sumit cibum cum modica pausatione uel interpolatione. Licet autem corpus non bibatur, uel sanguis non comedatur, quia neutrum sub specie panis bibitur uel sub specie uini comeditur, sanguis tamen comedendo primo sumitur, et corpus bibendo secundo recipitur. Porro neque panis sine 5 uino consecrari debet neque uinum sine pane.

Vtrum autem panis primo transsubstantiari ualeat sine uino cum dicitur: «Hoc est corpus meum», et postea cum dicitur: «Hic est calix sanguinis mei», et cum uinum transsubstantiatur in sanguinem, non modica est dubitatio. Dicunt quidem ex magistris nostris, quod 10 nec panis sine uino nec uinum sine pane consecrari potest. Oportet enim quod in talibus institutio domini obseruetur. Non igitur secundum hoc fit transsubstantiatio successiue, sed cum totum est dictum, totum est factum. Secundum hoc si moriatur sacerdos postquam hec uerba protulit: «Hoc est corpus meum», irritum est sacramentum. Vel si forte 15 puram aquam tantum ponat in calicem, remanebit purus panis in fine mense, licet supra panem hec uerba dixerit cum intentione proficiendi: «Hoc est corpus meum.» Preterea si ante perceptionem reperiatur in calice puram aquam, apposito postea uino, debet iterum super panem uerba consecrationis iterare et incipere uelut ab initio. 20

Hec autem opinio uidetur esse contra id quod dicitur in Toletano concilio, scilicet: «Si celebrante sacerdote causa egritudinis oporteat ipsum desistere, alius pro complemento sacrificii priori succedat.» Videtur igitur quod, si post horum uerborum prolationem, primus sacerdos infirmitate coactus desistat, quod alius ei succedens, residuum 25 quod sequitur deberet supplere, et ita panis transsubstantiatus fuit prioris sacerdotis ministerio.

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3-4 quia ... comeditur *om.* *U Mo* || 4 tamen sanguis *A* || 9 transsubstantietur *A Mo* || 10 est modica *A* | quidam *A* || 11 consecrare *A* || 13 transmutatio *A* | cum ] tamen *Mo* || 14 postquam ] priusquam *A* || 15 protulerit *Mo* || 15-16 puram forte *A* || 16 tantum *om.* *A* | calice *Mo* || 17 mense ] misse *A* | conficiendi *Mo* || 18 corpus hoc est meum *B* || 23 ipsum ] eum *A* || 24 igitur *om.* *A* | horum ] illorum *A* | uerborum illorum *A* || 25 desisteret *Mo* | ei *om.* *A* || 26 implere *A*

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8 Mt 26, 26 || 8-9 cfr Mt 26, 28, Lc 22, 20 || 15, 18 Mt 26, 26

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22-23 cfr the Seventh Council of Toledo, c. 2, *ad sensum*. Gratian, Decretum, Pars II, Causa VII, Q. I, c. 16. Mansi, X, 767-78.

Hoc etiam uidetur euangelii historie concordare. Dicit enim Matheus: «Cenantibus eis accepit Ihesus panem, benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum. Et accipiens calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens: Bibite ex hoc  
 5 omnes, hic est enim sanguis meus noui testamenti.» Sic igitur uidetur quod dominus primo panem in corpus suum transsubstantiatum consecrauerit et dederit discipulis suis. Postea uinum consecrauit et sanguinem suum dedit illis. Sed et Marcus eodem ordine dominum sacramenta confecisse et discipulis suis tradidisse narrat. Lucas  
 10 similiter postquam dominum panem benedixisse et discipulis suis dedisse narrauit, subiunxit: «Similiter et calicem postquam cenauit dicens: Hic est calix, nouum testamentum in sanguine meo.»

Huic opinioni magis inclinatur animus meus, scilicet quod panis prius transsubstantietur in corpus Christi ad prolotionem horum  
 15 uerborum: «Hoc est corpus meum.» Nam ecclesie consuetudo in hoc uidetur consentire. Eleuatur enim eucharistia post uerborum predictorum prolotionem, et adoratur non panis sed ipse Christus. Non enim ante uerborum prolotionem debet eleuatio fieri, ne a populo purus panis adoretur. Licet autem unum sine alio possit consecrari,  
 20 grauiter dicimus peccare, si quis panem sine uino uel econuerso consecraret. Securius autem est secundum utramque opinionem, ut sacerdos, si ante perceptionem uinum in calice non reperiatur, apposito uino auferat primam hostiam et apponat aliam, et facta benedictione super panem et uinum, post perceptionem sumat primam hostiam.  
 25 Sed quid faciendum est sacerdoti qui, postquam formam panis sumpsit, calicem uacuum inuenit? Secundum illos qui dicunt quod panis sine uino non potest consecrari, sacerdos soluit ieiunium, eo quod sumpsit panem purum. Debet igitur aliam hostiam cum uino consecrare, sed eo die non debet sacramenta percipere. Secundum  
 30 alios apponat uinum et eo consecrato sumat sub specie uini sanguinis sacramentum.

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2 dedit *A* || 5 enim *om. A* | sanguis ] calix *A* || 9 narrauit *Mo* || 16 eucharistia ] hostia *A* || 16-17 predictorum uerborum *A* || 19 uinum *A Mo* | posset *JRUV Mo* || 24 priorem *Mo*

## 〈DE OBJECTIONIBUS ET OPINIONIBUS DE EUCHARISTIA〉

Ad hec autem obicit hereticus. Corpus Christi in cena erat passibile, grossum et mortale. Quomodo ergo a discipulis potuit manducari?

Reuera nondum erat esibile quia nondum igne passionis erat decoctum. Tamen edebatur, sicut miraculose se ipsum in manibus tenebat sub specie panis et uini. Sed homo rubicundus, licet ad tempus 5 palleat, non dicitur pallidus. Pari modo edebatur, non tamen erat esibile. Sicut tamen Daudid coram Achis, rege Geth, manibus suis ferebatur in figura, ita uerus Daudid, id est, Christus, corpus suum manibus propriis portabat in cena. Dedit autem corpus suum quale 10 erat, scilicet passibile, quod tamen sub specie sacramenti non patiebatur. Miraculum fuit et diuine potentie, sicut miraculose nondum glorificatus exiuit de utero uirginali absque matris corruptione.

Sed esto, dicit hereticus, quod aliquis ex discipulis partem unam usque ad horam crucis et mortis reseruasset in pixide, Christus moritur in cruce, moritur ne in pixide? 15

Quis hoc auderet dicere in ueritate, si ita accidisset, moreretur in pixide sub sacramento, nam eius anima recederet a corpore, non tamen uulneraretur uel occideretur in pixide, scilicet sub specie sacramenti. Ea enim uerba que notant passionem illatam in huiusmodi locutionibus non reciperem. Secus est de hiis qui significant passionem 20 in natura, ut moritur, contristatur sub specie sacramenti.

Sed adhuc obicit hereticus. Sit itaque quod aliquis sacerdos consecraret in sabbatho panem et uinum, dicens: «Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est calix sanguinis mei», et cetera, numquid Christus simul mortuus

1 ad hec ] adhuc *Mo* || 2 ergo ] igitur *Mo*, *om.* *A* || 4 decoctum *add.* miraculose *JRUV Mo* || 4-5 tenebat in manibus *A* || 5 sed *add.* et *Mo* || 6 edebatur *JRUV Mo*, dicebatur *BH*, dicitur *AQ* || 7 esibilis *A* | tamen ] autem *Mo*, *om.* *A* || 8 suum *add.* in *A* || 10 quod ] non *A* || 16 hoc ] hic *Mo* || 18 scilicet *om.* *A* || 20 recipere *Mo* | quae *Mo* | passionem *add.* ut *A* || 21 in natura ] innatum *JRUV Mo* || 22 ita quod *HJRUV Mo* | quod *om.* *AQ* || 22-23 consecrans *A* || 24 mei *A Mo*, tantum *B* | simul ] similiter *Mo*

7-8 cfr 1 Rg 21, 13 || 23 Mt 26, 26 || 24 cfr Mt 26, 28, Lc 22, 20

11-12 cfr Saint Gregory, XL Homiliae in euangelia, Lib. II, Hom. 26, *ad sensum*. PL, LXXVI, 1197.

iaceret in sepulchro et uiueret sub sacramento? Sic igitur ad uerba sacerdotis resurgeret a mortuis.

Respondemus heretico, quod tempore quo Christus mortuus fuit, nullus per predicta uerba posset conficere sacramenta. Hoc enim esset  
5 contra Christi institutionem, qui panem in corpus animatum transsubstantiauit et transsubstantiandum instituit. Posset tamen, si uellet, talem uim uerbis contulisse, ut ad eorum prolationem panis transsubstantiaretur in corpus inanimatum, et secundum hoc in triduo illo posset confici huiusmodi sacramentum.

10 Fuerunt ex magistris nostris non nulli qui dixerunt, quod Christus in cena corpus suum dederit discipulis impassibile. Licet enim esset passibile sub specie carnis, ad tempus assumpsit impassibilitatem et immortalitatem, ut esset impassibile sub specie sacramenti. Assumpsit enim, ut asserunt, et ostendit in se antequam resurgeret quatuor  
15 proprietates corporis glorificati: claritatem in monte, agilitatem ambulans supra mare, subtilitatem exiens de uirgine, impassibilitatem in hora cene.

Sed quomodo intelligi poterit quod Christus secundum eandem naturam fuerit passibilis et impassibilis? Hoc enim non uidetur uerum,  
20 siue prepositio priuet potentiam seu aptitudinem. Erat enim potens et aptus pati. Hii concedunt quod si pars sacramenti reseruata fuisset per triduum, quod Christus simul pateretur in cruce et non lederetur sub specie sacramenti, simul mortuus iaceret in sepulchro et uiueret sub sacramento. Sed quomodo intelligi potest quod secundum eandem  
25 naturam mortuus esset et uiueret?

Dicimus ergo iuxta primam opinionem, quod in cena non assumpsit impassibilitatem, sed quia, cum esset passibilis, non patiebatur. Miraculum fuit, non natura. Similiter ambulans supra mare non assumpsit agilitatem neque deposuit ponderositatem. In hoc enim fuit miraculum  
30 quod aqua sustinebat corpus ponderosum. Simili modo in natiuitate non assumpsit subtilitatem, sed in hoc fuit miraculum: cum esset corpulentus, absque matris dolore uel corruptione exiuit mirabiliter de uirginis uentre. In monte etiam Thabor claritas fuit in aere circumfuso, sicut spiritus sanctus ostendit se in columba, non assumens in  
35 se formam columbe. Sic Christus proprium colorem retinuit, licet

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4 conficere posset *A* || 30 similiter *Mo* || 31 substantialitatem *Mo* | miraculum  
*add.* quod *Mo* || 33 uentre ] utero *A* | etiam ] enim *A*



circa se claritatem ostenderit. Nisi forte diceretur, quod in superficie corporis assumpsit accidentalem formam, scilicet claritatem, et propter hoc non reliquit naturalem, sicut assumpsit speciem peregrini, non propter hoc deponens naturam glorificati corporis. Similiter et aliquis homo ad tempus efficitur rubeus, qui tamen naturaliter est pallidus. 5 Non enim fantastice sed in rei ueritate apparebat discipulis, sicut baculus uidetur fractus in aqua et sicut fit in magorum prestigiis. Christus enim in ueritate sub forma quam prius habebat discipulis apparebat.

〈DE INTENTIONE MINISTRI〉

Sicut exigitur forma uerborum, ita intentio exigitur ad hoc quod 10 conficiatur sacramentum. Si enim aliquis de nouo ordinatus causa instructionis et discipline proferat uerba et faciat signa supra panem et uinum, non propter hoc conficit sacramentum. Hereticus autem licet uirtutem sacramenti non credat, si habeat sacerdotii ordinem et proferat uerba debita, intendens facere quod facit ecclesia, nichil- 15 ominus conficit sacramenta, sicut superius diximus de eo qui a pagano uel heretico in forma ecclesie baptizatur.

Patet ergo quod sacerdos non conficit ex hostiis que seorsum remanent super altare, cum ad illas suam non dirigat intentionem. Sed esto, quod plures hostias ponat iuxta calicem ante se ut ex eis conficiat 20 sacramenta et forte aliqua decedit sub altaris palla, numquid illa cum aliis consecrabitur? Non uidetur, quia non intendit consecrare, nisi illas quas uidet ante se. Pari ratione uidetur quod, si sacerdos ponat undecim hostias supra corporale et credat se tantum decem posuisse, quod non consecrat nisi decem, quia ad plures non dirigit intentionem 25 suam, sed cum quolibet illarum sit undecima secundum uarias computationes, qua ratione non consecrabitur una, pari ratione nec alia.

Nobis uidetur ad predicta sic esse respondendum, quod sacerdos non consecrat hostiam illam que ipso ignorante decedit sub palla altaris, sicut nec illam que seorsum remanet in angulo altaris. Omnes tamen 30 que ponuntur ante se, licet non uideat omnes et quamuis numerum

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1 ostenderet *A* || 7 confractus *A* | confractus uidetur *A* || 11 de nouo aliquis *A* || 13 sacramenta *Mo* || 20 his *Mo* || 23–24 hostias undecim ponat *A* || 24 decem tantum *Mo* || 27 non *om.* *Mo* || 30 illa *Mo*, ipsam *A*

ignoret, quia generaliter ad illas suam dirigit intentionem, ipsum dicimus consecrare, licet non habeat singularem intentionem ad quamlibet sed communem ad omnes. Si tamen intenderet unam solam consecrare et due ponerentur inuicem sibi casu aliquo adherentes, credimus quod illam solam consecraret ad quam solam dirigit intentionem. Ex predictis patet quod sacerdos potest consecrare hostiam quam non uidet, quando plures simul consecrantur sub una communi intentione.

Esto igitur quod aliquantum remotus ab altari proferat uerba super  
 10 panem cum intentione consecrandi, numquid propinquitas uel remotio sunt de substantia sacramenti? Non uidetur. Aliquis enim sacerdos consuevit a remotis, quasi in medio altaris, ponere hostiam. Si igitur remoueat et sit in medio ecclesie, poteritne panem qui est super altare consecrare? Si concedatur, pari ratione si sit ad hostium ecclesie  
 15 uel extra et proferat uerba cum intentione conficiendi, poterit consecrare panem qui est supra remotum altare? Eodem modo uidetur, quod in eodem loco existens possit conficere sacramenta supra omnia altaria illius regionis.

Hec et consimilia superuacuum et curiosum reputaremus discutere,  
 20 nisi importunitati hereticorum oporteret nos respondere. Respondemus igitur hereticis, quod remotio uel propinquitas non uariant substantiam sacramenti, sed tamen exigitur presentia panis et uini. Si queratur pro quanto spatii interuallo aliquis dicatur presens esse uel absens, queratur ab eis pro quot capillis a capite decidentibus  
 25 aliquis iudicatur esse caluus, uel pro quot uerbis prolatis aliquis dicatur esse garrulus, uel pro quot potationibus ebriosus.

Sicut autem unus sacerdos plures hostias simul potest consecrare, ita plures sacerdotes super unam hostiam possunt celebrare. Consueuerunt enim presbyteri cardinales summo pontifici in sacramento altaris  
 30 assistere et cum eo pariter celebrare. Sit ergo quod unus prius proferat uerba consecrationis quam alii, numquid ad prolationem primi, transsubstantiatur panis in corpus Christi? Ergo non conficiunt alii, et ita uidentur fraudari pia intentione sua, omnes enim pariter intendunt

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3 intenderet ] crederet *Mo* || 4 sibi inuicem *Mo* | sibi *om.* *A* | adherentes *add.* sibi *A* || 14 fit *A* || 20 oportet *A Mo* || 21 igitur ] ergo *A* | uariat *Mo* || 23 dicatur aliquis *A* || 24 uel absens *om.* *A* || 25 iudicatur ] dicatur *A* || 26 potationibus *add.* dicatur esse *A* || 30 pariter *om.* *A* || 32 alii non conficiunt *Mo* || 33 fraudari uidentur *A*

celebrare. Dicunt magistri nostri quod omnium intentiones et prolationes referuntur ad prolationem episcopi principaliter celebrantis. Si tamen dicatur quod ad primam prolationem fiat transsubstantiatio, non propter hoc aliorum fraudatur intentio quia factum est quod intendunt.

5

⟨DE ORDINE CONFICIENTIS⟩

Ordo preterea exigitur ad hoc quod aliquis conficiat sacramentum altaris. Non tamen exigitur ordo ad collationem baptismi, eo quod sit generale sacramentum et arte necessitatis. Multe autem auctoritates uidentur uelle quod heretici non conficiunt, que intelligende sunt hoc modo, non conficiunt sibi, id est, ad utilitatem suam. Licet enim 10 sacerdos sit hereticus uel quocumque peccato criminali obligatus, si conficit, confectum est, uirtus enim sacramenti non dependet ex meritis conficientis. Vnde beatus Augustinus ait: «Intra catholicam ecclesiam in misterio corporis Christi nichil a bono maius nichil a malo minus perficitur sacerdote, quia non in merito consecrantis sed 15 in uerbo efficitur creatoris et in uirtute spiritus sancti.»

Hec sunt uerba Augustini, et hec est ratio quare sacerdos non simpliciter dicitur facere sed conficere sacramentum. Christus enim hoc sacramentum propria uirtute operatur, et sacerdos tamquam minister cooperatur. Vel dicitur confici sacramentum, eo quod constat 20 ex duobus. Vnde beatus Augustinus: «Hoc est quod dicimus quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, sacramentum ecclesie duobus confici, duobus constare, uisibili elementorum specie et inuisibili domini nostri Ihesu Christi carne et sanguine, id est, sacramento et re sacramenti, sicut Christi persona conficitur ex deo et homine.» 25

Si quis semel suscepit ordinem sacerdotis, non potest de cetero caracterem amittere. Vnde si conficit in forma ecclesie, confectum est, siue sit hereticus siue degradatus uel excommunicatus uel irregu-

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9 uelle *AQHJRUV Mo*, esse *B* || 9-10 non ... modo *om. Mo* | conficiunt *add. sibi B* || 14 corpus *A* || 22 appropriare *Mo* || 26 suscipit *A* || 28 siue<sup>2</sup> ] seu *A Mo* | degradatur *Mo* | uel<sup>2</sup> ] aut *A*

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13-16 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 72. || 21-25 cfr Saint Augustine, in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 48.

laris. Quod autem dicitur: «Extra ecclesiam non est locus ueri sacrificii», is est sensus, si fiat contra formam ecclesie; uel propter hoc dicitur, quia non est meritorium talibus sacramenta conficere.

⟨DE DISTRIBUTIONE EUCHARISTIE⟩

- Quicumque enim indigne conficit, «iudicium sibi manducat et bibit»,  
 5 scilicet, quicumque in peccato mortali uel irregularis, excommuni-  
 catus, degradatus, caducus, furiosus, corpore enormiter uitiat. Si  
 quis autem occultus est peccator, missam eius possumus audire. Si  
 uero sit notorius in casibus determinatis et prohibitis, non debemus  
 interesse sacramentis, ut si publice teneat concubinam. Notorius  
 10 autem dicitur, qui conuictus est uel in iure confessus uel cuius crimen  
 manifestum multitudini est, ut ipsum nulla tergiuersatione possit  
 negare. Missam autem heretici non debemus audire, uel ab eo propter  
 perniciem exempli, ne uideamur ei consentire, sacramenta recipere,  
 etiam in mortis necessitate, alioquin sine uiatico melius esset decedere.  
 15 Sicut in peccato mortali nullus debet celebrare, ita qui conscientiam  
 habet mortalis peccati non debet sacramentum altaris alicui ministrare,  
 nec in hoc statu debet ipsum tractare uel tangere, nisi forte in mortis  
 articulo ubi non est alius qui possit conferre uiaticum infirmo, uel  
 propter reuerentiam, ut si uellet subleuare corpus domini cum cecidit  
 20 super terram. Magis autem peccat qui indigne conficit quam qui indigne  
 recipit. Dignius enim est conficere quam recipere. Magis igitur con-  
 tempnit magisque leditur, dum a gradu sublimiori labitur.

- Diaconus autem non nisi in mortis necessitate, si sacerdos absens  
 fuerit, debet sacramentum eucharistie alicui ministrare. Si autem  
 25 sacerdos dum celebrat missam ante perceptionem sacramenti non nisi  
 unam habeat hostiam, et infirmus in mortis periculo petat uiaticum,  
 potest ei unam ex tribus partibus reseruare. Licet enim in tres partes te-  
 neatur eucharistie formam diuidere, non tenetur in hoc casu tres sumere.

1 dicit *Mo* || 2 contra.] extra *Mo* || 3 quia *om. A* || 5 quicumque *add. est Mo* |  
 irregularis *add. seu A* || 7 peccator *A Mo*, peccatorum *B* || 9 tenuerit *A* ||  
 11 multitudini *JRUVQ Mo*, multitudinis *ABH* | est multitudini *Mo* || 14 dis-  
 cedere *A* || 17 ipsum.] eum *A* || 18 uiaticum conferre *Mo* || 19 cum *add. quod*  
*A* || 21 est enim *A* || 28 in hoc casu *om. A*

4 1 Cor 11, 29

1 The citation has not been identified.

Quoniam autem tripartitum est Christi corpus, hostia siue eucharistie forma tripharie diuiditur. Oblatio enim, que fit in sacramento altaris in quo filius offertur patri, gratiarum est actio pro saluatis, suffragium pro defunctis qui adhuc in purgatorio torquentur, medicina autem est pro uiuis qui adhuc in mundi periculis conuersantur, qui 5 per partem illam que in calice cum sanguine ponitur possunt designari, eo quod adhuc uiuunt in torcularibus et pressuris huius mundi. Sanguis enim uitam anime in corpore significat, eo quod uita siue anima sit in sanguine. Calix autem pressuras huius uite mortalis designat iuxta illud: «Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum?» 10

Alia tamen consideratione pars illa que ponitur in calice corpus Christi, quod surrexit a mortuis, potest designare. Sicut enim superius dictum est, panis ad carnem, sanguis autem refertur ad animam. Forma igitur panis forme uini coniuncta, corporis et anime Christi in resurrectione significat unionem. Frangitur forma panis a sacerdote, 15 ut in fractione panis cognoscatur dominus, qui uere panis est angelorum et sanctarum animarum, et fractus fuit in ara crucis.

Ex predictis satis liquet diligenter intuenti, quantum prosit anime digne suscipientis medicinalis uirtus memorati sacramenti. Vnde quia frequenter labimur, contra recidiua peccata et lapsus cotidianos frequenter ad medicinam recurrere debemus. Si tamen mens est adhuc in affectu peccandi, perceptione eucharistie non purgatur sed magis grauatur. 20

#### ⟨DE ORDINATIONIBUS DE EUCHARISTIA⟩

Frequenter igitur cum «lactucis agrestibus», id est, cum cordis contritione, comedendus est agnus, ut in exitu de Egypto a uastante 25 angelo protegatur. Dicit tamen beatus Augustinus cotidie eucharisti-

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1 quando *A* || 2 diuidatur *Mo* || 5 autem ] uero *A* || 6 cum sanguine in calice *A* || 7 uiuunt adhuc *A* || 8 uitam ] uita *A Mo* || 13 autem *om. A* || 18 intuenti diligenter *A* || 21 currere *A* | adhuc est *Mo* | adhuc *om. A* || 22 peccandi *add. adhuc A* || 24 igitur ] sibi *Mo* || 25 uastante ] percutienti *AQ*

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10 Mt 20, 22 || 16 cfr Lc 24, 35 || 24 Num 9, 11

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26-p. 244, 1 cfr Saint Augustine, Sermo 57, 7, Sermo 58, 5, Sermo 227. PL, XXXVIII, 389, 395, 1099.

stiam sumere. Nec laudo nec uitupero, omnibus tamen dominicis diebus hortor. Hoc ideo dicit quia quidam ex timore et reuerentia diutius abstinent, reputantes ex humilitate se esse indignos ad similitudinem centurionis qui ait: «Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum  
 5 meum.» Alii ex deuotione et desiderio frequenter accedunt ad imitationem Zachei qui suscepit eum gaudens. Quidam autem ex frequenti usu, irreuerenter et minus deuote accedunt.

Quidam etiam sacerdotes causa cupiditatis bis in die celebrare presumunt, contra quos Alexander papa sic ait: «Sufficit sacerdoti  
 10 unam missam in die una celebrare, quia Christus semel passus est. Valde felix est qui unam digne celebrare potest. Si tamen necesse fuerit, una de die altera pro defunctis potest celebrari.» Similiter in die natalis tres ab uno possunt celebrari sacerdote, ita tamen quod ablutiones usque ad ultimam reseruentur.

15 Cum autem in primitiua ecclesia singulis diebus fideles communicarent, crescente numero fidelium, diebus dominicis tantum communicare consueuerunt. Postea uero refrigescente multorum caritate, cautum est ut ter in anno communicarent. Vnde Fabianus papa: «Ter in anno quisque fidelium communicet», aliter inter catholicos  
 20 non numeretur. Hodie tamen, eo quod multiplicata sunt peccata super terram, permittitur quod semel in anno scilicet die pasche laici corpus Christi recipiant. Qui autem illo die communicare noluerit, communionem ecclesie priuari debet.

Ante sanctam autem communionem ieiunare debent aliquot diebus  
 25 et ab uxoribus abstinere tribus aut quatuor diebus propter reuerentiam sacramenti.

Laicis autem propter periculum non est danda eucharistia sub specie

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3 esse se *A* || 4-5 sub tectum meum intres *A* || 7 minus et irreuerenter *A* | deuote *om. A* || 8 etiam ] autem *A* || 10 una *om. Mo* | est passus *A* || 11 tamen si *A* || 13 natalis *add. domini A* || 14 usque ad ultimam ablutiones *A* || 16 dominicis diebus *A* || 17 caritate multorum *A* || 20 numeretur *J RUV Mo*, numerentur *ABH* | sint *Mo* || 21-22 Christi corpus *A* || 22 die illo *A* || 25 aut ] uel *A*

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4-5 Mt 8, 8 || 6 cfr Lc 19, 16 || 17 cfr Mt 24, 12

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9-12 cfr Pope Alexander II (1061-1073), in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. I, c. 53. || 19 cfr Pope Fabian (236-250), in Gratian, Decretum, Pars III, Dist. II, c. 16.

sanguinis. Quod autem dicit dominus: «Nisi biberitis sanguinem filii hominis, non habebitis uitam in uobis», bibi reputatur, eo quod cum corpore sumitur uel quia bibendus esse creditur.

Caueat autem super omnia sacerdos, ne aliquid de sanguine per negligentiam effundatur. Si enim ceciderit forma panis uel sanguinis 5 super terram, terra diligenter radatur, et cum uino uel aqua sumatur uel comburatur et cinis in piscina reponatur uel in liquida substantia recipiatur. Si super uestimentum ceciderit, scindatur et, parte illa diligenter abluta, aqua ablutionis bibatur. Pars autem illa comburatur, et cinis in piscina mittatur uel in liquida substantia recipiatur. Si 10 ceciderit sanguis super pallam altaris uel corporale, diligenter abluatur et aqua ablutionis bibatur. Corporale autem uel comburatur uel seorsum in sacrario cum reliquiis reseruetur. Pars autem lintheaminis altaris supra quam stillauit sanguis, rumpatur et comburatur uel in 15 sacrario reseruetur.

Si forte post susceptionem sacramenti infirmo uomitus acciderit, diligentissime in aliquo puro uase reponatur, et si fieri potest sine abominatione cum multa aqua uel uino sumatur, uel comburatur et cinis cum liquida substantia bibatur uel in piscina mittatur. Diligenter autem sibi caueat sacerdos ne in auricalco uel cupro que propter 20 eruginem uomitum prouocant ministret sacramenta. Cautum etiam est in canone, ne in ligneo uel uitreo calice sacerdos presumat missam celebrare.

Si autem musca uel aranea in calicem ceciderit, non est tutum propter uomitum muscam uel araneam cum sanguine sumere. Debet 25 igitur sacerdos diligenter et pluries muscam uel araneam abluere et aquam ablutionis sumere. Id uero quod ablutum est comburatur et cinis in piscina reponatur uel in liquida substantia recipiatur. Quidam tamen sacerdotes ex tanta fide quandoque muscam et araneam cum

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4 super omnia *om.* *A* || 5 uel ] et *A* || 8 cecidit *Mo* || 11 sanguis ceciderit *A* || 12 uel<sup>1</sup> ] non *A* | uel<sup>2</sup> ] sed *A* || 13 reseruetur *A Mo*, obseruetur *B* | autem *add.* illa *A* || 15 reseruetur ] reponatur *A* || 16 si *add.* quis *A* || 18 uino uel aqua *A* | uel<sup>2</sup> ] aut *A* || 19 recipiatur *A* | uel *add.* sumatur aut *A* || 22 uel *add.* in *A* || 24 calice *Mo* || 25 araneam uel muscam *A* || 26 araneam uel muscam *A* || 28 uel ] aut *A* || 29 et ] uel *A*

sanguine receperunt, quod eis nil nocuerunt. Audiui autem de quodam qui, postquam araneam cum sanguine suscepit, post dies aliquot, cum sibi minueret, aranea uiua et integra cum sanguine de brachio eius prosiliit.

- 5 Forma autem sacramenti ultra dies octo non est reseruanda, sed propter uetustatem forme, singulis septimanis renouanda sunt sacramenta.

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1 recipiunt *A* || 5 ultra ] post *JRUV*, per *Mo* || 6 uetustatem ] ueritatem *Mo*

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1-4 An anecdote somewhat similar is told of Saint Conrad, Bishop of Constance, 934-976. See Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed T. Grässe, Leipzig, 1846, p. 864 (*Legendae a quibusdam aliis superadditae*). In iconography Conrad is depicted with a chalice and spider. MGH SS, IV, 430-460, XXI, 454-77. PL, CLXX, 865-76. Bibliotheca hagiographica latina, n<sup>os</sup> 1917-19. Butler-Attwater, IV, 425-26. Chevalier, BB, I, 1008-09. LTK, VI<sup>2</sup>, 467-68. NCE, IV, 188. H. Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte Schwabens*, I, Stuttgart, 1950, pp. 154 ff.



## SECTION III

## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### CORRESPONDENCE OF CHAPTER TITLES AND CHAPTER ENUMERATION BETWEEN Mss. B, K, P

As stated in the Introduction, two manuscripts, *K* and *P*, depart from the system of chapter titles and enumeration found in the other manuscripts. The table below indicates the correspondence between these two manuscripts and *Ms. B*.

The table terminates at chapter thirty-four, as both *Ms. K* and *Ms. P* are defective. Titles are entirely absent in *Ms. P*. Where no title or number is given in the table, it denotes that it is lacking in the manuscript.

B = 1 De corruptione occidentalis regionis et de peccatis occidentalium.  
K = 101  
P = 101

B = 2 De auaris et feneratoribus.  
K =  
P =

B = 3 De rapinis et exactionibus potentum per se et per satellites suos et  
de uariis eorum criminibus.  
K = De eodem.  
P =

B = 4 De uariis hominum generibus et uariis criminibus irretitis.  
K = 102 De eo quod non solum terra sancta sed etiam uniuersa terra corrupta  
est per peruersos habitatores suos.  
P =

B = 5 De negligentia et peccatis prelatorum.  
K = 102 (continues to p. 86,24).  
103 pp. 86,25-87,6, De furibundo et cetera.  
104 p. 87,7-19, De paupercula et cetera.  
105 p. 88,1-15, De quedam puellula et cetera.  
P =

- B = 6 De uisitatione occidentalis ecclesie. De uita et predicatione Fulconis  
presbyteri.  
K = 106 De Fulcone presbytero.  
P =
- B = 7 De statu parisiensis ciuitatis.  
K = 107 De corruptione parisiensis ciuitate.  
P =
- B = 8 De magistro Petro cantore parisiensi.  
K =  
P =
- B = 9 De magistro Iohanne de Niuela et aliis predicatoribus.  
K = 109 De hiis qui post ipsum Fulconem ceperunt predicare.  
P =
- B = 10 De pseudo siue falsis predicatoribus.  
K = 110 De quibusdam aliis predicatoribus que sua sunt querentibus non que  
Ihesu Christi.  
P = 102
- B = 11 De renouatione occidentalis ecclesie.  
K = 111 De statu et reformatione occidentalis ecclesie.  
P =
- B = 12 De uariis religionibus et primo de heremitis.  
K = 112 De generibus religiosorum et primo de heremitis.  
P = 103
- B = 13 De duobus generibus cenobitarum seu regularium.  
K = 113 De cenobitis.  
P =
- B = 14 De cisterciensibus.  
K = 114 De cisterciensibus.  
P =
- B = 15 De monialibus cisterciensibus.  
K = 115 De monialibus.  
P =
- B = 16 De fratribus Calatrapie.  
K = 116 De fratribus qui Calatrapie nuncupantur.  
P = 104
- B = 17 De monachis Vallis Caulium.  
K = 117 De monachis de Valle Callium.  
P =
- B = 18 De monachis cartusiensibus.  
K = 118 De carturiensibus.  
P =

- B = 19 De fratribus et monachis Grandismontis.  
K = 119 De fratribus Grandismontis.  
P = 106
- B = 20 De monachis thironensibus et monachis nigris.  
K = 120 De monachis de Tyrono.  
P = 107
- B = 21 De regularibus canonicis sub sancti Augustini regula uiuentibus.  
K = 121 De canonicis regularibus.  
P = 108
- B = 22 De canonicis premonstratensis ordinis.  
K = 122 De premonstratensibus.  
P = 109
- B = 23 De canonicis Arroasie.  
K = 123 De canonicis de Arrosia.  
P = 110
- B = 24 De canonicis sancti Victoris.  
K = 124 De canonicis sancti Victoris.  
P = 111
- B = 25 De fratribus ordinis sancte trinitatis.  
K = 125 De ordine fratrum sancte trinitatis.  
P = 112
- B = 26 De fratribus qui dicuntur de Spata.  
K = 126 De fratribus de Spata.  
P = 113
- B = 27 De noua religione et predicatione bononiensium canonicorum.  
K = 127 De canonicis iuxta ciuitatem Bononie sitis.  
P = 114
- B = 28 De religione et regula humiliatorum.  
K = 128 De ordine humiliatorum.  
P = 115
- B = 29 De hospitalibus pauperum et domibus leprosororum.  
K = 129 De domibus leprosororum et hospitalibus.  
P = 116
- B = 30 De secularibus canonicis.  
K = 130 De canonicis secularibus.  
P = 117
- B = 31 De irregularitate secularium canonicarum.  
K = 131 De canonicabus secularibus.  
P = 118

B = 32 De ordine et predicatione fratrum minorum.

K = 132 De fratribus minoribus.

P = 119

B = 33 De hiis qui predictis ordinibus abutuntur.

K = 133 De hiis qui propter diuersa desideria intrant religionem.

P = 120

B = 34 De diuersis secularium personarum ordinibus.

In primo de regula presbyterorum.

K = 134 De eo quod non solum religiosi sed et omnes fideles debent dici regulares.

P =

## APPENDIX B

### EXEMPLA AND ANECDOTES IN THE HISTORIA OCCIDENTALIS

1. Demoniac preaches because prelates neglect their duty. Pp. 86,25-87, 6.
2. Abstinence, penance, ecstasy, and apparitions of the maiden at Cudot. P. 87,7-19.
3. Maiden at Vernon receives the Eucharist from a dove. P. 88,1-15.
4. Lady tonsures a concubine as a priestess. P. 99,10-17.
5. Bishop gives priest choice between his parish or his concubine; he chooses the latter, who deserts him when she sees he has lost his income. P. 99,18-23.
6. The fasting and prayer of Reinnerus, a hermit of Lotharingia. P. 109,15-21.
7. The penances of a hermit. P. 109,22-24.
8. A hermit's meditation on the Trinity; he forgives a tyrant who had formerly injured him. Pp. 109,25-110,8.
9. Phisicus, a Cistercian who despises the monastic fare, is spurned by the Blessed Mother. Pp. 114,21-115,8.
10. A confessor to whom God reveals unconfessed sins of penitents. P. 115,24-27.
11. Satan prepares food for a Carthusian. Pp. 123,25-124,13.
12. Satan carries in a sack the syllables carelessly pronounced by choir monks. P. 168,13-20.
13. While Saint Basil celebrates Mass, a Jew, hidden in the church, sees a boy in the Host and is converted. P. 206,12-14.
14. While the priest is dividing the Host, a hermit sees an angel dissecting a small child and receiving his blood in a chalice. P. 206,15-18.
15. Maurice de Sully on his death-bed, unable to retain food, perceives the deception of the Victorines who seek to give him an unconsecrated Host. Pp. 206,23-207,9.
16. Mary of Oignies discovers the subterfuge of the prior who attempts to give her an unconsecrated Host. P. 207,10-19.
17. A priest of Poitiers during Mass finds a second Host on the altar. As he hesitates whether to consume one or both, the second vanishes, leaving an imprint. P. 207,20-26.
18. A count of Poitiers in disguise is hospitably received by a priest whom he later creates bishop of Poitiers. P. 210,16-21.

19. A doubting priest consumes the Eucharist in great quantities and, after having fasted from all food several days, becomes extremely weak. P. 231,4-8.
20. A priest consumes a spider with the Precious Blood. A few days later, during blood-letting, a living spider leaps out of his arm. P. 246,1-4.

## APPENDIX C

## BIOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

This appendix is designed for supplementary biographical, topographical, and bibliographical data too lengthy for inclusion in the third apparatus of the critical text. The bibliography presented is necessarily selective. New and recent titles are included in the first instance, but older bibliography is given for relatively unfamiliar items. Secondly, titles are furnished for the lesser known religious orders, such as Arrouaise, but not for the major orders, as the Benedictines. Two exceptions are the Franciscans and the Dominicans, where bibliography relating to their foundation and rise has been added. This was suggested because of the value of Jacques de Vitry's testimony in the *Historia Occidentalis* for the early Minorites and because of the special problem involved with the Bologna canons in chapter twenty-seven.

## ADAM OF PERSEIGNE AND THE ABBEY OF PERSEIGNE

Adam was a noted churchman of his time, preacher, spiritual writer, good literary stylist, and spiritual director. He served as chaplain to Countess Marie of Champagne, directed Count Jean d'Alençon and Alice, daughter of Louis VII of France, and about 1198 served as confessor to Richard I of England. Successively canon regular, Benedictine, then Cistercian at Pontigny, where he served as master of novices, he was elected abbot of Perseigne in 1188. Under Innocent III he had a distinguished public career, mediating both ecclesiastical and political disputes. He was a preacher of the Fourth Crusade, being assigned to the task by the Cistercian general chapter in 1201 in reply to the request for aid by Fulk of Neuilly. His writings consist chiefly of sermons and letters devoted to church affairs and spiritual guidance, which reflect the ideas and mores of the time.

T. Atkinson Jenkins, ed., *Eructavit*, an Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm 44, Dresden, 1909. J. Bouvet, ed., *Adam de Perseigne, Lettres, Sources*



chrétiennes 66, Paris, 1960; Correspondance d'Adam, abbé de Perseigne, 1188–1221, see *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, II, 120. H. Maracci, *Adae abbatis Perseniae... Mariale sive de laudibus beatae Mariae, sermones aurei et fragmenta*, Romae, 1652. J. Benton, *The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center*, *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 551–91. J. Bouvet, *Biographie d'Adam de Perseigne*, COCR, 20 (1958), 16–26, 145–52; *Lettre inédite d'Adam, abbé de Perseigne*, à Simon, ancien abbé de Savigny, COCR, 18 (1956), 276–89. Cath, I, 132–33. R. Ceillier, *Histoire des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1863, XIV, 881–86. Chevalier, BB, I, 37. DHGE, I, 488–90. Dictionnaire de biographie française, I, 492–93. Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, I, 198–201. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, I, 387–88. EC, I, 282–83. Féret, I, 60. GC, XIV, 519–21. B. Hauréau, *Histoire littéraire du Maine*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1870–1877, I, 20–51. HLF, XVI, 437–47. C. Hontoir, *Adam de Perseigne*, COCR, 1 (1934), 123–26. Lecoy, Chaire, pp. 46, 155–57. B. Lohr, *The Philosophical Life According to Adam of Perseigne*, COCR, 24 (1962), 225–42, 25 (1963), 31–43. T. Merton, *Christian Freedom and Monastic Formation: the Thought and Spirituality of Adam of Perseigne*, *Benedictine Review*, 13 (1962), 289–313; *La formation monastique selon Adam de Perseigne*, COCR, 19 (1957), 1–17. Molinier, III, 7, n° 2221. NCE, I, 117. *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, II, 120. M. Sampoli Simonelli, *Sulla parafrasi francese antico del salmo Eructavit, Adamo di Perseigne, Chrétien de Troyes e Dante*, *Cultura neolatina: Bollettino dell'Istituto di Filologia Romanza*, 24 (1964), 5–38. Setton, II, 287, 386.

The Cistercian abbey of Perseigne, near Alençon (Sarthe), was founded about 1145 by William III, Count of Alençon. It was suppressed in 1790.

Chevalier, TB, 2355. Cottineau, II, 2258–59. G. Fleury, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Perseigne*, Mamers, 1880; *Histoire religieuse de Sonnois, l'abbaye cistercienne de Perseigne*, 1145–1790, Mamers, 1878. GC, XIV, 517–24. *La grande encyclopédie*, XXVI, 482. J. J. Janauschek, I, 84. Van der Meer, p. 291. J. Wehrle, *Malebranche et l'abbaye de Perseigne*, *Archives historiques du Maine*, 8 (1928), 10–22.

#### AFFLIGEM

In the high Middle Age the abbey of Affligem, in Brabant near Alost, enjoyed great religious and literary fame and was the burial place of the dukes of Brabant. In 1523 it joined the Bursfeld reform congregation, in 1627 that of Saint-Vannes.

*Chronicon Affligemense*, MGH SS, IX, 407–417. PL, CLXVI, 813–32. *Historia Affligemiensis, Fundatio seu exordium monasterii Sancti Petri Affligemiensis*, Liber I, D'Achery, II, 769–76. O. Cambier, *Continuatio chronici Affligemiensis ex variis ejusdem abbatis monumentis*, D'Achery, II, 776–79. E. De Marneffe, *Cartulaire d'Affligem* I, 1894–1901. *Epistolae fraternitatis Affligemensis*, MGH SS, XVII, 354. *Auctarium Affligemense*, ed. B. Struve, *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores... ex bibliotheca M. Freheri, Francofurti ad Moenum*, I (1600), 966–75. *Chronographiae auctarium Affligemense*, 597–1163, MGH SS, VI, 398–405. U. Berlière, *L'abbaye d'Affligem*, *Revue bénédictine*, 4 (1887), 204–11.

254-62; La congrégation bénédictine de la Présentation de Notre Dame, *Revue bénédictine*, 13 (1896), 487, 499, 544-56, 14 (1897), 60-70, 253-72, 288-98; *Lettres des moines d'Afflighem aux bénédictines de Saint-Maur, 1642-1672*, *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, Ser. 6, 5 (1913), 101-226; *Monasticon belge*, IV, 17-80. D. Bernard, *Geschiedenis der benedictijner abdij van Afflighem*, Gand, 1890. A. Berthod, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Afflighem*, *Mémoires et documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Franche-Comté*, 3 (1844), 451-54. Cath., I, 183-84. CE, I, 179-80. Chevalier, TB, 15. V. Coosemans and C. Coppens, *De eerste kroniek van Afflighem*, *Affligemensia* 4 (1947), pp. 53-93. C. Coppens, *Het Commendatorium Hafligemiense of Affligems lofdicht van Nicolaas Mis (einde XII<sup>e</sup> eeuw)*, *Affligemensia* 5 (1948), pp. 117-24; *Een lijst van Affligemse monniken uit de Catalogus monachorum van Dom Beda Regaus*, *Affligemensia* 6 (1949), pp. 135-48. Cottineau, I, 23-24. C. Dereine, *Le problème de la date de la fondation d'Affligem*, *Cahiers bruxellois*, 3 (1960), 179-86; *La spiritualité apostolique des premiers fondateurs d'Affligem*, 1083-1100, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 54 (1959), 41-66. A. Despy-Meyer, *A propos de la fondation d'Affligem*, *Note sur la rédaction de l'Exordium Affligemense*, *Cahiers bruxellois*, 9 (1964), 81-88. DHGE, I, 672-74. *Fontes Affligemenses*, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van de abdij Affligem*, Hekelgem: Fasc. 1, C. Coppens, *Liber anniversariorum, 1426-1427*, *Jaargetijdenboek*, 1966; Fasc. 2, C. Coppens, *Historia Affligemiensis, 1648-1670*, auctore anonymo, 1966; Fasc. 3, W. Verleyen, *Obituarium Fraxinense, XIV-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 1967; Fasc. 4, W. Verleyen, *Mortuarium Affligemiense, XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1967; Fasc. 5, C. Coppens, *Cartularium Affligemense ab anno 1245 ad annum 1253*, 1968; Fasc. 6, C. Coppens, *Beneficia collationis monasterii Afflighemensis (XVs.)*, 1968; Fasc. 7, W. Verleyen, *De Abbatia et prioratu Bornhemienensi (1100-1796)*, auctore Beda Regaus, 1968. GC, V, 36-42. P. Gorissen, *Affligem en Engeland*, *Betrekkingen tijdens de XII<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, *Affligemensia* 6 (1949), pp. 129-35. *Heimbucher*<sup>3</sup>, I, 191. G. Hendrix, *Willem van Affligem's auteurschap van het Leven van Lutgart getoetst aan het hoofdstuk-Thimere*, *Ons geestelijk erf*, 40 (1966), 343-49. N. Huyghebaert, *De toestand te Affligem en 1666*, *Sacris erudiri*, 4 (1952), 339-51. HLF, XII, 407-08. A. D'Hoop, *Inventaire général des archives ecclésiastiques du Brabant*, Bruxelles, 1905-14, III, 17-33. LTK, I<sup>2</sup>, 168. M. Lindemans, *Het voormalig Affligemsch landgoed Assegem te Laken*, *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 14 (1931), 42-64. Michel, pp. 67-69. *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII, 628-29. J. Pitra, *Notre Dame d'Afflighem*, *Revue catholique*, 3 (Louvain, 1849), 425-31, 451-68. M. Podevyn, *De abdij van Affligem*, *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 14 (1931), 16-17. G. Rolin, *Une page sombre de l'histoire de l'abbaye d'Afflighem: L'usurpation du siège abbatial (1577-1581)*, *Miscellanea historica in honorem L. Van der Essen*, II, Bruxelles, 1947, 683-90. M. Sacré, *Bibliographie van Affligem en Hekelgem*, *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 14 (1931), 33-41. J. Valvekens, *Confraternitates precum in abbatia Affligemiensi*, *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 43 (1967), 323-30. J. Van Mierlo, *Willem van Affligem en het Leven van Jesus en het Leven van Sinte Lutgart*, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Akademie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, Gand, 1935, pp. 775-915. A. Van Roy, *Affligem, roem van ons land*, Leuven, 1953. J. Ver-

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#### ALBERIC OF LAON

Alberic, also known as Alberic de Humbert or de Hautvilliers (*de alto Villari*) from the place of his birth, studied at Paris and was there an active preacher associated with Fulk of Neuilly. He became archdeacon of Paris, was named archbishop of Rheims in 1206, and began the construction of the new cathedral in 1212. He took part in the Albigensian campaign in 1212 and participated in the Fifth Crusade. In his sermons he was a preacher of poverty, yet because he accepted ecclesiastical dignities, Jacques de Vitry singles him out for reproach, like Pierre de Roissy, writing *de fluvio commutatus in rivulum*. Marlot says that some of his sermons still existed in Paris in the seventeenth century.

Bulaeus, II, 724, III, 672. Chevalier, BB, I, 97-98. DHGE, I, 1409. Dictionnaire de biographie française, I, 1166-67. Féret, I, 52, 245-56, 496. GC, IX, 104-07. HLF, XVII, 202-04. Lecoy, Chaire, p. 496. G. Marlot, Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, 4 vols., Reims, 1843-1846, III, 517, 536, 547.

#### ALPAIS OF CUDOT

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## ARROUAISE

The Abbey of Saint Nicholas, near Bapaume (Pas-de-Calais) was established by Heldemar of Tournai and Conon, later Cardinal of Praeneste. Confirmation was granted in 1097 by Bishop Lambert of Arras and in 1116 by Pope Paschal II. The Congregation, marked by austerity and strict discipline, spread chiefly in France and Ireland.

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chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise avec des notes critiques, historiques et diplomatiques, Lille, 1786. H. Heijman, *Untersuchungen über die Prämonstratenser Gewohnheiten*, *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 4 (1928), 225–41. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 413. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 108–10. A. Le Glay, *Notice sur les archives de l'abbaye d'Arrouaise*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts d'Arras*, 30 (1858), 115–30. LTK, I<sup>2</sup>, 902. H. Michel, *Inventaire sommaire du cartulaire d'Arrouaise*, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Picardie*, 28 (1917–1919), 251–73. L. Milis, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise, son histoire, ses institutions* (in preparation, as also an edition of the customary of Arrouaise); *The Library and the Manuscripts of the Abbey of Arrouaise, Scriptorium*, 19 (1965), 228–35; *De Premonstratenzer-wetgeving in de XII<sup>e</sup> eeuw, Een nieuwe getuige*, *Studia historica Gandensia* 19, Gent, 1968 (disproves the thesis of Salter in the item below); see also *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 44 (1968), 181–214, 45 (1969), 5–23. Molinier, II, 260, n° 2056. H. Salter, *An Arrouasian General Chapter*, *EHR*, 52 (1937), 267–79. P. Vermeer, *De invloed van de Carta Caritatis van Cîteaux op de statuten van Arrouaise*, *Studia catholica* (Nijmegen), 28 (1953), 105–14; *Sint-Bernardus en de orden der reguliere kanunniken van Prémontré, Saint-Victor en Arrouaise, Sint-Bernardus van Clairvaux*, *Gedenkboek, Achel*, 1953, pp. 55–64. T. Walsh and D. O'Sullivan, *Saint Malachy, the Gill Abbey of Cork, and the Rule of Arrouaise*, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 54 (1949), 41–61.

#### ARTHUR, DUKE OF BRITTANY

Arthur had been named heir to the English throne by Richard I. The young duke was a political pawn between Philip II of France and John of England who was considered responsible for his death. *Le Ménestrel de Reims* accuses John of Arthur's murder. De Wailly, pp. LVIII, 128–29.

C. Bémont, *De la condamnation de Jean Sans-Terre par la cour des pairs de France en 1202*, *Revue historique*, 32 (1886), 33–72, 290–311; *De Arthuro Godiphredi filio*, 1890. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, III, 1173–74. *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 129–31. Molinier, III, 10, n° 2237. C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Le déshéritement de Jean Sans-Terre et le meurtre d'Arthur de Bretagne*, *Etude critique sur la formation et la fortune d'une légende*, Paris, 1925. F. Powicke, *The Disappearance of Arthur of Brittany*, *Ways of Mediaeval Life and Thought*, Boston, 1951, pp. 27–37.

#### BENEDICTINES, CANTERBURY

The Abbey of Saints Peter and Paul, later entitled Saint Augustine, was founded between 598–605. The cathedral chapter, entitled Saint Savior or Holy Trinity, later Christ Church, became a Benedictine priory in 997. The priory of the Holy Sepulchre was erected by Saint Anselm about 1100.

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Christ Church: P. Barnes and W. Powell, eds., *Interdict Documents*, London, 1960. A. Boutemy, *Two Obituaries of Christ Church, Canterbury*, *EHR*, 50 (1935), 292-98. Chevalier, TB, 3168. M. Deanesly, *The Familia of Christ Church, Canterbury, 597-832*, *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to T. F. Tout*, Manchester, 1925, pp. 1-14; *The Familia at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the Time of Saint Augustine*, *Downside Review*, 44 (1926), 292-96. DHGE, XI, 805-08. D. Douglas, *The Domesday monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, London, 1944. Dugdale, I, 81-119. D. Knowles, *The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 39 (1938), 126-31. D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, *Mediaeval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, London, 1953, pp. 61-62. J. Robinson, *The Early Community of Christ Church, Canterbury*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1926), 225-40. W. Searle, *Christ Church, Canterbury*, Cambridge, 1902. R. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a Study in Monastic Administration*, Cambridge, 1943; *The Central Financial System of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186-1512*, *EHR*, 55 (1940), 353-69. T. Symons, *The Introduction of Monks at Christ Church, Canterbury*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1926), 409-11. C. Woodruff and W. Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Christ Church in Canterbury*, London, 1912. C. Woodruff, *Sacrist's Rolls of Christ Church, Canterbury*, *Archaeologica Cantiana*, 48 (1936), 38-80.

Holy Sepulchre: Cottineau, I, 589. Dugdale, IV, 413.

#### CALATRAVA, ORDER OF

The Order originated under Sancho III of Castile, who donated the fortress of Calatrava to Abbot Raymond, a Cistercian of Fitero. A grand master was chosen in 1163. Between 1213-1221 the knights of Avis adhered to the Order, and in 1219 a female branch was inaugurated. A red cross was adopted as their emblem in 1396. The Order exists today merely as an honorary society, though the nuns still survive.

H. Alonso Rodríguez, *Algo sobre la fundación de la Orden de Calatrava*, Barcelona, 1917. E. Benito Ruano, *Las órdenes militares españolas y la idea de cruzada*, *Hispania*, 16 (1956), 3-15; Santiago, Calatrava y Antioquía, *Anuario*

de estudios medievales, 1 (1964), 549-60. E. Bordejé, El VIII centenario de la Orden de Calatrava, Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos del los Castillos, 7 (1959), 13-28. J. Caruana Gómez de Barreda, La Orden de Calatrava en Alcañiz, Teruel, 8 (1952), 1-176. CE, III, 149-152. Cath, II, 372-73. Chevalier, TB, 547-48. M. Cocheril, Calatrava y las órdenes militares portuguesas, Cistercium, 10 (1958), 331-39; Essai sur l'origine des ordres militaires dans la péninsule ibérique, COCR, 20 (1958), 346-61, 21 (1959), 228-50, 302-29; Les ordres militaires cisterciens au Portugal, Bulletin des études portugaises, N.S., 28-29 (1967-1968), 11-71. Cottineau, I, 560. V. Dávila Jalón, Nobiliario de la ciudad de Burgos, II, Los caballeros de las órdenes militares de Calatrava, Alcántara, Montesa y de San Juan de Jerusalén, Madrid, 1955. DHGE, XI, 351-54. Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana, X, 560-64. Encyclopedia of Islam, I, 826-27. E. Evans, L'Ordre de Calatrava, Erasmus, 10 (Bruxelles, 1957), 400-02. Exposición de la orden militar de Calatrava, Conferencias pronunciadas con motivo de la inauguración de la Casa de Cultura de Ciudad Real (Mayo-Junio, 1961), Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid, 1962. G. Fehleisen, Das Bild von Calatrava im Winterrefektorium des Klosters Bebenhausen, Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, 27 (1918), 34-41. R. Frydrychowicz, Ritterorden von Calatrava in Tyman bei Mewe, Altpreußische Monatschrift, 37 (1890), 315-20. F. Galeano and I. Hervás, Documentos originales de sacro convento de Calatrava, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 20 (1892), 545-72. L. García Abrines, Milicias religiosas españolas medievales, Revista de la oficialidad de complemento, Ministerio de Ejército (Madrid), 5 (1949), 37-41. F. Groner, Calatrava-Bild an der Rückwand des Winterrefektoriums des ehemaligen Zisterzienserklosters Bebenhausen, Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, 34 (1925), 328-31. M. De Guillas, De las órdenes militares de Calatrava, Santiago, Alcántara y Montesa, Madrid, 1952. F. Gutton, L'Ordre de Calatrava: La chevalerie militaire en Espagne, Commission d'histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux 4, Paris, 1955. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 339-40. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, VI, 34-53. A. Javierre Mur and C. Del Arroyo, Catálogo de los documentos referentes a los conventos de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara que se conservan en el Archivo Secreto de las Ordenes Militares, Madrid, 1958. A. Javierre Mur, El Priorato de S. Benito de Jaén de la orden de Calatrava, Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 3 (1956), 9-42; Fernando el Católico, y las órdenes militares españolas, Fernando el Católico, vida y obra, Zaragoza, 1955, pp. 287-300; La orden de Calatrava en Portugal, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 130 (1952), 323-76. Janauschek, I, v, 65, 198. M. Kayserling, L'Ordre de Calatrava et les juifs, Revue des études juives, 39 (1899), 313-15. D. Lomax, Algunos estatutos primitivos de la Orden de Calatrava, Hisp, 21 (1961), 483-94; Las milicias cistercienses en el reino de León, Hisp, 23 (1963), 29-42. LTK, II<sup>2</sup>, 878-79. S. Montero Díaz and others, La Orden de Calatrava, VIII centenario, Cinco conferencias, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, Ciudad Real, 1959. J. Muñoz Gallardo, ¿La Orden de Alcántara fue filial de la Orden de Calatrava?, Revista de estudios extremeños, 21 (1965), 437-92. NCE, II, 1056. J. O'Callaghan, The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux, Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis,

15 (1959), 161-93, 16 (1960), 3-59, 255-92; The Difiniciones of the Order of Calatrava Enacted by Abbot William II of Morimund, April 2, 1468, *Traditio*, 14 (1958), 231-68; The Earliest Difiniciones of the Order of Calatrava, 1304-1383, *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 255-84; Hermandades between the Military Order of Calatrava and Santiago during the Castilian Reconquest, 1158-1252, *Speculum*, 44 (1969), 609-18; Martín Pérez de Siones, Maestre de Salvatierra, *Hisp*, 22 (1962), 163-70; Sobre los orígenes de Calatrava la Nueva, *Hisp*, 23 (1963), 495-504. M. de Oliveira, A milícia de Evora e a ordem de Calatrava, *Lusitania sacra*, 1 (1956), 51-64. R. Revilla Viéla, *Ordenes militares de Santiago*, Alcántara, Calatrava y Montesa, Madrid, 1927. F. de Whagön, *Indice de los documentos de la orden militar de Calatrava en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 35 (1889), 5-166. L. Wright, *The Military Orders in XVIth and XVIIth Century Spanish Society, The Institutional Embodiment of a Historical Tradition, Past and Present*, (1969), n° 43, pp. 34-70. M. Yáñez Neira, *Fray Diego Velázquez, forjador de Calatrava*, *Hispania sacra*, 20 (1967), 257-81.

#### LES CHAMPEAUX

About 1137/38 Louis VI moved the market of Paris from the Place de Grève to the locale called Petits Champs (*campelli*) on the Rue Saint Denis. Philip II constructed two *halles* there and also transferred to it the fair of Saint-Lazare. Les Halles continued to operate until 1968, when the market was moved to a new site.

Olschki, pp. 18, 167. Piganiol, I, 17, 281, 289, 443. Friedmann, p. 780. Lazare, pp. 273-76. M. Baurit, *Les Halles de Paris des Romains à nos jours*, Paris, 1956. J. Legaret, *Les Halles de Paris*, *Revue politique des idées et des institutions*, 46 (1957), 25-32. J. Martineau, *Les Halles de Paris, des origines à 1789: évolution matérielle, juridique et économique*, Paris, 1960.

#### CISTERCIAN NUNS

J. Bouton, *L'établissement des moniales cisterciennes*, *Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, Comtois, et Romands*, 15 (1953), 83-116. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 356-62. E. Krenig, *Mittelalterliche Frauenklöster nach den Konstitutionen von Cîteaux, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung fränkischer Nonnenkonvente*, *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, 10 (1954), 1-105. A. Luddy, *The Cistercian Nuns*, Dublin, 1931. F. Winter, *Die Cisterzienser des nordöstlichen Deutschland*, II, *Die Frauenklöster*, Gotha, 1871.

#### CISTERCIAN NUNS IN THE DIOCESE OF LIEGE

Had Jacques de Vitry explicitly mentioned the seven convents of Cistercian nuns, it might have been a valuable historical aid for us, since the growth of the Cistercian nuns in the thirteenth century is not fully documented. His



deep involvement with the women religious of the Lowlands, both regular and lay, would have assured us of reliable testimony, as he had close connections with the Cistercian nuns, particularly with the abbey of Aywières. The southern portion of the Lowlands especially witnessed a great flowering of Cistercian nunneries in his century. Their rise occurred in two periods: between 1210–1219 (the time of Jacques' residence in Belgium and the writing of the *Historia Occidentalis*) and between 1229–1241 (a period when he was once more active in Europe until the time of his death). In seeking to identify the seven monasteries, it is necessary to study only the earlier period.

There are nine abbeys which are definitely Cistercian or are mentioned in documents as Cistercian during these earlier years. There are five others which can be considered, either because they were founded early but became Cistercian only in the third decade of the century, or because their foundation and affiliation to Cîteaux may have occurred after Jacques de Vitry's departure for Acre but about the time of the composition of the *Historia Occidentalis*.

Nevertheless, it is possible to list seven monasteries "in one region of the diocese of Liège" with enough evidence to be fairly sure that the author had them in mind: Herkenrode, Aywières, Salzinnes (Val-Saint-Georges), Val-Notre-Dame, La Ramée, Robertmont, and Vrouwenpark (Parc-les-Dames). Seven others will also be considered in connection with the question: Hocht, Maagdendaal, Florival, Ter Beeck, Burtscheid, Val-du-Ciel, and Boneffe. Carmélia Opsomer of the University of Louvain, currently preparing a work on the Cistercian nuns in the Liège diocese in the thirteenth century, has been most helpful in supplying data.

For the seven probable convents the following facts can be offered. In every case there is evidence of foundation or existence as Cistercian nunneries by 1216, the year in which Jacques de Vitry left for Italy and the Orient.

1. Herkenrode: founded in the late twelfth century, affiliated to the Cistercians between 1194–1200.
2. Aywières: founded about 1202, affiliated about 1209–1210.
3. Salzinnes: founded before 1202, mentioned as Cistercian in 1209.
4. Val-Notre-Dame: mentioned as Cistercian in 1210.
5. La Ramée: founded before 1212, mentioned as Cistercian in 1214.
6. Robertmont: founded 1184, mentioned as Cistercian in 1216.
7. Vrouwenpark: founded before 1215, mentioned as Cistercian in 1216.

Three other lists have been proffered in explanation of the statement of Jacques de Vitry:

1. The Bollandists: Herkenrode, Aywières, Florival, Hocht, La Ramée, Op-linter (Maagdendaal), Vrouwenpark (AA SS, Oct. XIII, p. 101).
2. Greven: Herkenrode, Aywières, Salzinnes, Val-Notre-Dame, Robertmont, Vrouwenpark, La Ramée or Maagdendaal (Anfänge, pp. 121 note 2, 151ff).
3. McDonnell: Florival, Aywières, Salzinnes, Val-Notre-Dame, La Ramée, Robertmont, Vrouwenpark (p. 107 note 46).

For the three convents listed by Greven, the Bollandists, and McDonnell and not in the list proposed above the data is less favorable:

1. Hocht, occupied by Cistercian monks until 1215, is mentioned as a Cistercian nunnery in 1216.
2. Maagdendaal, founded about 1219 at Oplinter, is mentioned as Cistercian in 1219. The community migrated to Maagdendaal in 1233 and in 1237 was affiliated to the Cistercian Order.
3. Florival, founded between 1207-1212, is first mentioned as Cistercian in 1237.

The credentials for Hocht are good, but it, like Herkenrode, is farther east in the province of Limburg. It does not seem cogent to omit one of the others in favor of it. Maagdendaal is relatively late in its foundation, at a time when Jacques de Vitry was already in Acre. Florival has a stronger claim for inclusion, as it was founded early in the century, but the late date for its connection with the Cistercians would seem to militate against its acceptance. Cottineau, however, offers 1218 as the date for association with Cîteaux.

Four other convents merit attention: Ter Beeck, Burtscheid, Val-du-Ciel, and Boneffe. Ter Beeck was affiliated with the Cistercians in 1237, but Canivez and Cottineau believe it adopted the rule of Cîteaux when the community migrated to Ter Beeck from Straaten in 1221. Burtscheid was founded about 1220-1222 when Cistercian nuns from Aachen settled in the former Benedictine abbey at Burtscheid. Val-du-Ciel was founded before 1196, but it is not known when the nuns became Cistercian. The foundation date of Boneffe is not known, but there is a possibility of its taking the Cistercian Rule about 1215. Berlière (*Monasticon belge*, I, 65-70) records that some maintain, though it is difficult to prove, that two communities of Cistercian nuns were at Boneffe early in the century, or that the group of nuns which moved to Saint-Dizier in 1227 may have left a section behind which united with the later foundation at Boneffe, and that a bull of Honorius III in 1222 could indicate that Boneffe was merely a priory until the erection of Saint-Dizier.

Concerning these additional seven abbeys documentary evidence is non-existent or slender. But the absence of documents does not in itself outrule either a factual reality that might be unknown to us, or that monasteries founded or affiliated between 1216 and 1221 might have come to Jacques de Vitry's awareness while he was in the Orient through letters from friends. Nevertheless, the evidence for the seven convents here chosen is strong enough to conclude in their favor.

From the geographical viewpoint these seven monasteries selected are in agreement with Jacques de Vitry's phrase *in una dyocesi leodiensis regione*. In the south the line runs from Nivelles (Aywières) to Namur (Salzinnes) to Huy (Val-Notre-Dame) to Liège (Robertmont). In the north the line runs from Nivelles to Louvain (Vrouwenpark) to Hasselt (Herkenrode) to Liège, with La Ramée in the center. The area covers the central portion of the medieval diocese of Liège, as comprised before the sixteenth century revision of territorial limits. This geographical pattern would not be altered appreciably by the substitution of Florival, Maagdendaal, Hocht, Ter Beeck, Boneffe or Val-du-Ciel, though Burtscheid near Aachen would be somewhat afield. The geographical consideration favors Florival, Maagdendaal, Boneffe and Ter Beeck before the others. Similarly, were there sufficient documentation for early

foundation or incorporation with Cîteaux for Florival and Boneffe, a better geographical cohesion could be had by their substitution and the omission of Herkenrode (Limburg) and Robertmont (Liège). Then the seven nunneries would be found entirely in the Brabant-Namur area. Present knowledge, however, confines the choice to the seven for which there is evidence in preference to the others about which there is merely room for speculation.

Cistercian nuns in general: J. Canivez, *L'ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique des origines (1132) au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Forges-lez-Chimay, 1936. McDonnell, pp. 106-19. T. Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'ordre de Cîteaux dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à la Révolution française*, 3 vols., Westmalle, 1936; *Les moniales cisterciennes dans l'ancien roman pays de Brabant*, 4 vols., Bruxelles, 1924-26. S. Roisin, *L'efflorescence cistercienne et le courant féminin de piété au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 39 (1943), 342-78; *L'hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Louvain-Bruxelles, 1947.

Herkenrode: near Hasselt, province of Limburg. Founded about 1182 by Gerard, Count of Looz, suppressed in 1796, it was famous for the miracles of Elisabeth de Ryckel and a fourteenth century miracle of the Eucharist.

Canivez, pp. 123-31. Chevalier, TB, 1412. Cottineau, I, 1403-04. GC, III, 1032-34. J. Daris, *Notice historique sur Hasselt*, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 6 (1869), pp. 127ff. J. Grauwels, *De overbrenging van de kunstvoorwerpen van Herkenrode naar Hasselt in 1803*, Hasselt, 1958. A. Kwanten, *L'abbaye de Herkenrode au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Cîteaux, 10 (1959), 62-67. Michel, pp. 206-09. E. R., *Documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Herkenrode*, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 16 (1879), 221-313. Van der Meer, p. 282. J. Walters, *Notice historique sur l'ancienne abbaye de Herkenrode dans la province de Limburg*, Gand, 1849. E. Willems, *La correspondance de Herkenrode*, *Het oude Land van Loon*, 11 (Hasselt, 1956), 283-303, 13 (1958), 87-117, 14 (1959), 23-57.

Aywières: founded about 1202 at Awirs near Liège, the community migrated to Lillois in 1210, and about 1214-1217 moved again to Couture-Saint-Germain near Nivelles. Jacques de Vitry had connections with the abbey before going to the Holy Land and addressed to the community Letters II, Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 79, and VI, Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 123. It was suppressed in 1796.

U. Berlière, Jacques de Vitry, *ses relations avec les abbayes d'Aywières et de Doorezele*, *Revue bénédictine*, 25 (1908), 185-93. G. Boulmont, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye d'Aywières*, *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Bruxelles*, 24 (1910), 61-77. Canivez, pp. 172-186. Cottineau, I, 234. DHGE, V, 1326-28. R. Hanon de Louvet, *L'abbaye d'Aywières aux origines*, *Annales de la Société Archéologique et Folklorique de Nivelles et du Brabant Wallon*, 17 (1957), 202-27. T. Ploegaerts, *Les moniales cisterciennes dans l'ancien roman pays de Brabant*, I, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Aywières*, Bruxelles, 1924. Van der Meer, p. 271.

Salzinnes (Val-St-Georges): the foundation date is unknown, but it existed before 1202. Opinions vary, with 1111, 1146, 1196-1212 being offered. Cottineau states that the nuns affiliated with Cîteaux in 1154. The convent, near Namur, was suppressed in 1797.

Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 101–110. E. Brouette, *Chronologie des abbesses du Val-Saint-Georges, Namurcum*, 39 (1967), 1–10; *La date de fondation de l'abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur)*, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 27 (1949), 135–38; *Le martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur)*, *Bulletin de la Société Royale Paléontologique et Archéologique de l'Arrondissement Judiciaire de Charleroi*, 27 (1957), 1–10. E. Brouette and J. Dejaiffe, *L'origine de l'abbaye du Val-Saint-Georges et la formation de son domaine, Cîteaux*, 19 (1968), 154–85. Canivez, pp. 317–23. Cottineau, II, 2944. Chevalier, TB, 2823. GC, III, 601–03. L'Génicot, *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Salzinnes-Namur*, 1303–1307, Louvain-Gent, 1967. Van der Meer, p. 296.

Val-Notre-Dame: The Convent at Antheit near Huy was founded by Albert, Count of Moha and ceased to exist in 1797.

Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, II, 203–11. Canivez, pp. 280–84. Chevalier, TB, 3211. Cottineau, II, 3262. N. Donnet, *Les origines de l'abbaye du Val-Notre-Dame, Cîteaux*, 12 (1961), 133–55. GC, III, 1035–36. G. Hansotte, *Inventaire analytique des chartes de l'abbaye du Val-Notre-Dame, Bruxelles*, 1964. Van der Meer, p. 300. E. Wigny, *Notice sur l'abbaye du Val-Notre-Dame à Antheit, Annales du Cercle Hutois des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*, 3 (1879–1880), 65–68.

La Ramée (Rameige): the convent was first founded at Kerckom, then moved to La Ramée near Jodoigne. The community was possibly Benedictine at first but adopted the Cistercian Rule about 1214. In the early thirteenth century under Ida of Nivelles its school of calligraphy and illumination was noteworthy. It was suppressed in 1796.

Canivez, pp. 187–93. Chevalier, TB, 2500. Cottineau, II, 2400. G. Despy, *Un fragment d'un obituaire du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'abbaye de La Ramée, Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, 34 (1963), 60–66. GC, III, 604–05. D. Masquelier and A. Uyttebrouck, *Les dignitaires de l'abbaye de La Ramée au moyen âge, Wavriensia*, 18 (1969), 15–24. T. Ploegaerts, *Les moniales cisterciennes dans l'ancien roman pays de Brabant, II, Histoire de l'abbaye de La Ramée, Bruxelles*, 1925. Van der Meer, p. 292.

Robertmont: The abbey, near Liège, was founded in the late twelfth century as a convent of Augustinian nuns but adopted the Cistercian Rule about 1216. The community joined that of Val-Benoît in 1231, but in 1244 a group returned and refounded Robertmont.

Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, II, 179–86; 193–202. Canivez, pp. 270–75. Chevalier, TB, 2564. Cottineau, II, 2478. GC, III, 1029–31. LTK, VI<sup>2</sup>, 1242. Van der Meer, p. 293.

Vrouwenpark (Parc-les-Dames): the community, possibly founded as early as the eleventh century as Augustinian nuns, became Cistercian about 1216. Situated near Louvain, the abbey was suppressed in 1796.

E. Brouette, *La cistercienne Catherine de Louvain, fut-elle abbesse de Parc-les-Dames?*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 78 (1960), 84–91. Canivez, pp. 212–14. Chevalier, TB, 3327. J. Cools, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der abdij van Vrouwenpark onder Rotsedaar, Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 36 (1953), 186–99, 295–99; *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van Vrouwenpark, Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 43 (1960), 451–59, 44 (1961), 60–66, 125–33. Cottineau, II, 2191. A. and G. Despy, *Un problème d'histoire cistercienne: les débuts de l'abbaye*

de Parc-les-Dames, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 42 (1964), 1242-56. GC, V, 74-76. Van der Meer, p. 302.

Hocht: The monastery, near Maastricht, was founded in 1180 by Cistercian monks. In 1215 the community transferred to Val-Dieu, and Hocht was occupied by Cistercian nuns from Mount Saint Savior at Aachen.

Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, II, 140-154. Canivez, pp. 275-60. J. Ceysens, *La genèse de quelques erreurs concernant l'origine des abbayes de Hocht et de Val-Dieu*, *Leodium*, 4 (1905), 65; *Les origines de l'abbaye de Val-Dieu*, *Leodium*, 3 (1904), 25-26. J. Coenen, *Het koor der abdijkerk van Hocht*, *Verzamelde Opstellen*, uitgegeven door den Geschieden Oudheidkundige Studiekring te Hasselt, 4 (1928), 32-43. Cottineau, I, 1422-23. L. De Crassier, *La noble abbaye de Hocht*, *Leodium*, 3 (1904), 1-3. Janauschek, I, 179. Michel, pp. 195, 209-12. A. Van de Kerckhove, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Val-Dieu à travers les siècles de son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, 1215-1939, Bruges, 1939; *Histoire de l'abbaye de Val-Dieu à travers les siècles*, 1215-1954, 2nd ed., Dison, 1954. Van der Meer, pp. 283, 300.

Maagdendaal: Canivez, pp. 202-204. Chevalier, TB, 1804. Cottineau, II, 1703. H. Delvaux, *Inventaris van het archief der abdij Maagdendaal te Oplinter*, Brussel, 1965. DHGE, I, 1413. GC, V, 76-78. Van der Meer, p. 286.

Florival: Located between Nivelles and Louvain, the convent is said by some to have been founded at the end of the eleventh or at the end of the twelfth century. It became Cistercian as early as 1218.

Canivez, pp. 193-98. Chevalier, TB, 1132. Cottineau, I, 1162. DHGE, I, 1413. GC, V, 64-68. McDonnell, p. 110. T. Ploegaerts, *Les moniales cisterciennes dans l'ancien roman pays de Brabant*, III, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Florival à Archesnes*, Bruxelles, 1925. Van der Meer, p. 279.

Ter Beeck: Canivez states that the community, founded first near Saint-Trond at Straaten, moved to Ter Beeck in 1221 and accepted the Cistercian Rule. It was suppressed in 1797.

Canivez, pp. 255-56. Chevalier, TB, 3071. Cottineau, II, 3134. GC, III, 1031-32. Janauschek, I, LXXIII. Michel, pp. 221-22. Van der Meer, p. 299.

Burtscheid (Borcette, Porcetum): The abbey, near Aachen, was originally founded by Benedictine monks late in the tenth century. About 1220-1222 Cistercian nuns from Mount Saint Savior in Aachen occupied it. The convent was secularized in the period of the French Revolution.

Chevalier, TB, 531. Cottineau, I, 535-36. GC, III, 1028-29. A. Huyskens, *Die Aachener Kirchengründungen Kaiser Heinrichs II. in ihrer rechtsgeschichtlichen und kirchenrechtlichen Bedeutung*, *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 42 (1920), 233-94. Janauschek, I, LIX. LTK, II<sup>2</sup>, 798. E. Podlech, *Die wichtigeren Stifte, Abteien und Klöster in der alten Erzdiözese Köln*, Breslau, 1912-1913, II, 41-50. C. Quix, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Reichsabtei Burtscheid (700-1400)*, Aachen, 1834. A. Schaake, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung der Cisterzienserinnenabtei Burtscheid von ihrer Entstehung bis um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Aachen, 1913. H. Schnock, *Ein Register über die Einnahme und Ausgabe der Burtscheider Abteikirche, 1691-1708*, *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 40 (1918), 320-29; *Studien über die Reihenfolge der Äbte und Äbtissinen in der ehemaligen Herrlichkirche Burtscheid*, *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 41 (1919), 205-53. Van der Meer, p. 274.

Val-du-Ciel: Founded at the end of the twelfth century at Ophoven near the Meuse River, the community transferred in 1258 to Dalheim near Wassemburg in the county of Juliers. Canivez, p. 257. Cottineau, I, 942. GC, III, 1034.

Boneffe: The date for the foundation of the convent near Namur is sometimes given in the early thirteenth century or in 1240. In 1461 Cistercian monks took over the abbey, and in 1794 it was suppressed.

Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 65-70. Canivez, pp. 332-39. Chevalier, TB, 441. Cottineau, I, 419-20. M. Del Marmol, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Boneffe*, *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Namur*, 4 (1855), 95-142. DHGE, IX, 837-38. GC, III, 600-01. Janauschek, I, 278. Van der Meer, p. 273.

### CISTERCIAN NUNS IN THE EAST

Constantinople: It is believed a former convent of Basilian nuns at Constantinople had adopted the Cistercian Rule before or in 1203. Certainly in 1221, the year in which it was taken under papal protection, Saint Mary of Percheio (Petreio) had been occupied by Cistercian nuns. The monastery, whose exact location in the city is not known, was subject to the abbot of Cîteaux but visited by the abbot of Saint Angelus. After the fall of the Latin Empire in 1261 the nuns migrated to the West. In 1265 the abbess and some of the nuns had settled at Rimini, where Clement IV gave them the church of Saint Mary. Another group first went to Barletta then in 1278 to Naples. There Charles of Anjou gave them the former Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Domina Aromata. In 1460 the Benedictine Rule was adopted. The convent was known as Santa Maria de Perceo de Constantinopoli, Santa Maria Dominarum de Romania, or Santa Maria de Domna Romita. For the title Percheio or Petreio, see Brown, p. 91 note 152, and p. 94, note 164.

E. Brown, *Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276*, *Traditio*, 14 (1958), 63-120, especially pp. 91-93, 105, 117-18. Cottineau, I, 864, II, 2037.

Cyprus: The convent of Saint Mary Magdalene at Nicosia existed during the period 1192-1489. Janin (DHGE, XII, 813) states there was a second monastery of Cistercian nuns on the island, but its name is unknown. DHGE, XII, 813, 953. Janauschek, I, 238. Van der Meer, p. 289.

Antioch: No convent of Cistercian nuns in this locale can be identified. The author of the article in DHGE (III, 628) states that the monastery called de Jubino was inhabited by nuns, but Saint George de Jubino in Montana Nigra was a monastery of Cistercian monks. Janauschek (I, 217, 239) maintains there is no indication that Saint Sergio de Jubino was a convent of nuns.

Tripoli: Here were found the Cistercian nuns of Saint Mary Magdalene. Cottineau, II, 3218. Janauschek, I, 139 (under Beaumont).

Acre: The convent of Saint Mary Magdalene is mentioned in a letter of Pope Honorius III in 1223. It was subject to the abbot of Laurus in the diocese of Constantinople. Cottineau, I, 11. Janauschek, I, LIX.

## DOMINICANS

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1957 (English transl. K. Pond, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, New York, 1964); *Saint Dominique en Caleruega d'après les documents du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1955; *Saint Dominique en Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 1, Toulouse, 1966; *Saint Dominique en 1207*, notes critiques, AFP, 23 (1953), 335-45; *Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs*, Annales du Midi, 79 (1967), 173-94; *Saint Dominique et ses frères: évangile ou croisade? Textes du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle présentés et annotés*, Paris, 1967; *Saint Dominique, la vie apostolique*, Paris, 1965. A. Walz, *Die Miracula Beati Dominici der Schwester Cäcilia*, Einleitung und Text, *Miscellanea Pio Paschini*, I, Romae, 1948, 293-326.

### FORTEVRAULT AND ROBERT D'ARBRISSEL

Fontevault, near Saumur (Maine-et-Loire), revived the double monastery system long in disuse. It was based on the Benedictine Rule, though the monks at first followed the Rule of Saint Augustine. The abbess was the superior of the abbey and of the congregation, and even Robert subjected himself to the governance of the first abbess. Fontevault itself actually comprised four cloisters: Notre Dame or Grand-Moutier for the nuns, Saint John the Evangelist for the monks, Saint Mary Magdalene for penitents, and Saint Lazarus for lepers. The membership was drawn mostly from the nobility, and many abbesses were of the royal House. The order spread chiefly in France, England, and Spain. Reforms were inaugurated in 1475 and 1614.

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#### FULK OF NEUILLY

The account of Jacques de Vitry, one of the primary biographical sources for Fulk, emphasizes the main features of the preacher's career. His labors first centered in Paris, but he later became an itinerant preacher in northern France and parts of the Low Countries, attacking principally usury and sins of the flesh. His apostolic work for the reform of morals is possibly of greater moment than his more noted historical involvement in the crusade movement. His own rejection of spectacular ascetic practices seems to have caused some popular wonderment, as reflected in Jacques de Vitry's account. The title of "master", given to many noted medieval preachers, mirrors his tremendous impact on his era as well as his leadership of the band of disciple-preachers known as the Fulconists. None of Fulk's sermons have come down to us, possibly because the poorly lettered preacher wrote down none of them, or because

none of his auditors took the pains to record them. Innocent III through his legate, Cardinal Peter Capuano, commissioned Fulk to preach the Fourth Crusade in 1198. He was not present at the tournament of Ecry where many leading nobles took the cross, though this is often erroneously affirmed (Setton, II, 158). He went to Cîteaux in 1198 and 1201 to solicit aid in the crusade preaching, and on the second occasion three abbots were assigned by the general chapter to assist him, one of them being Adam, Abbot of Perseigne (Brown, pp. 67-68, Gutsch, pp. 202-03). Fulk himself intended to go on the crusade but died before it was launched.

For anecdotes concerning Fulk, see Greven, *Exempla*, n° 52, pp. 35-36, and Frenken, *Anekdoten* II, p. 149. The various contemporary chronicles which speak of Fulk are listed by Gutsch.

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### GRANDMONT AND SAINT STEPHEN OF MURET

Based on the Benedictine and Augustinian Rules with strong Carthusian and Cistercian influences, the Order of Grandmont was characterized by a severe asceticism with a rejection of possessions or fixed rents. Stephen did not compose a rule, but the oral traditions were written down in 1143 by Stephen of Lisiac. The legislation was confirmed by Clement III, but revisions and mitigations occurred from time to time, and in 1643 a reform was undertaken by Charles Frémon. Strained relations between the monks and *conversi* led to several severe disputes. The Order, also popularly called *bons hommes*, spread chiefly in France, but there were some houses in England and Spain.

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mier coutumier de l'ordre de Grandmont, RM, 46 (1956), 15-32; Les institutions de l'ordre de Grandmont au moyen âge, RM, 42 (1952), 31-42; La première crise de l'ordre de Grandmont, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 87 (1960), 283-324; Les premiers écrivains de l'ordre de Grandmont, RM, 43 (1953), 121-37; La règle de l'ordre de Grandmont, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 87 (1958), 9-36; *Scriptores ordinis Grandmontensis*, Corp Chr, *Continuatio mediaevalis*, 8, Turnholti, 1968. P. Bordeaux, La fin du prieuré des Bonshommes [de Grandmont, près de Monsoult-Maffliers, Seine-et-Oise] comparée à celle du prieuré des Camaldules [de Grosbois], Fontenay-le-Comte, 1923. A. Bornet, Le prieuré de Notre-Dame de Clairefontaine ou des Bonhommes de l'ordre de Grandmont près de Savignies (1207-1791), Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de l'Oise, 24 (1923), 17-83. M. Bourderioux, Vestiges grandmontaines tourangeaux, Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Archéologique de Touraine, 32 (1960), 199-224. CE, VI, 725-26. H. Chettle, The Boni homines of Ashridge and Edington, Downside Review, 62 (1944), 40-55. Chevalier, TB, 1333-34. Cottineau, I, 1326-28. R. Crozet, L'archéologie de l'ordre de Grandmont en Poitou, Saintonge et Angoumois, Angoulême, 1946. E. Darras, Le prieuré grandmontain de Notre-Dame des Bonshommes du Meynel-ley-Maffliers (1169-1791), Pontoise, 1928. C. Dereine, L'obituaire primitif de l'ordre de Grandmont, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 87 (1960), 325-31. Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, IV, 1511-14. J. Fabre de Morlhon, Le prieuré Saint-Michel de Grandmont près de Lodève, Fédération Historique de Languedoc-Roussillon, XXXVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès, Lodève, 1963, pp. 207-18. GC, II, 645-60. Ch. Gayne, Le prieuré grandmontain de Francou, Bulletin archéologique, historique et artistique de la Société Archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne, 88 (1962), 17-25. J. Goñi Gaztambide, La Orden de Grandmont en España, Hispania sacra, 13 (1960), 401-11. R. Graham, English Ecclesiastical Studies, London, 1929, pp. 209-46. R. Graham and A. Clapham, The Order of Grandmont and its Houses in England, Oxford, 1926; see also *Archaeologia*, 75 (1926), 159-210. A. Grezillier, Vestiges grandmontains, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 86 (1957), 411-24. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 326-27. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, VII, 406-25. LTK, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1162. Molinier, II, 256-57, n<sup>os</sup> 2041-47. NCE, VI, 694-95. D. Seward, The Grandmontines, A Forgotten Order, Downside Review, 83 (1965), 249-64. Ab. Terre, L'ordre de Grandmont et le prieuré de Saint-Jean-les-Bonshommes, XXX<sup>e</sup> Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes, 1959, pp. 11-19. V. Vandermarcq, Le prieuré de Saint-Michel de Grandmont, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 73 (1931), XLIX-LI. A. Vitalis, Une page de l'histoire du diocèse de Lodève, Le prieuré de Saint-Michel de Grandmont, Montpellier, 1896.

Saint Stephen of Muret (cir. 1045-1124): AA SS, Feb. II, 205-13. PL, CCIV, 1005-1162. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, n<sup>os</sup> 7904-13. J. Becquet, Recherches sur les institutions religieuses de l'ordre de Grandmont au moyen âge, RM, 42 (1952), 31-42; Saint Etienne de Muret et l'archevêque de Bénévent Milon, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 86 (1957), 403-09. Cath, IV, 581-82. Chevalier, BB, I, 1378. E. d'Ascoli, La vita

spirituale anteriore a S. Francesco, *Collectanea Franciscana*, 2 (1932), 5-34. DHGE, XV, 1252-53. Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, IV, 1504-14. EC, XI, 1312. C. Frémon, *La vie, la mort et les miracles de saint Etienne, confesseur, fondateur de l'ordre de Grammont*, Dijon, 1647. L. Génicot, *Présentation de saint Etienne de Muret et de la pauvreté*, *Revue nouvelle*, 19 (Tournai, 1954), 578-89. HLF, X, 410-25, XV, 135-36, 142ff. A. Lacroix, *Un prédecesseur limousin de saint François d'Assise (saint Etienne de Muret)*, *Journal des débats*, Fev. 3, 1939, n° 29, p. 5. LTK, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1047. I. Da Milano, *Un prefrancescanesimo nell'evangelismo di S. Stefano di Muret, istitutore de Grandmont?*, *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladora*, I, Roma, 1964, 75-97. NCE, XIII, 700-01. J. Porcher, *Sacramentaire de saint Etienne de Limoges*, Paris, 1953. R. Rios, *Corona sanctorum anni benedictini*, *Menologium ordinis S. Benedicti*, n° 18, Southwark, 1948. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Duaci, 1624, Lib. XXVI, cc. 46-50. Zimmermann, I, 188.

### HOSPITAL CONGREGATIONS

In this chapter Jacques de Vitry speaks not of a single hospital or hospital congregation, but refers generically to hospitals and hospital religious. See pp. 146, 21-147, 2; 149, 21-25; 150, 3-4. He also implies the varied functions which the average medieval hospital carried out: care of the sick, poor, homeless, travellers, pilgrims, and lepers. The military hospital orders, which performed many of the same offices, are not included, and it can be recalled that he had considered some of them in the *Historia Orientalis*. Though he speaks of the Rule of Saint Augustine in a singular sense (p. 147, 2), it might underscore the fact that many hospital religious observed that Rule, or it might merely indicate that it was followed in the hospital that he principally had in mind as an example. It may well be that he is describing the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris, but he would undoubtedly have been acquainted with other hospitals and leper houses in northern France and Belgium, as testified by the list he gives later in the chapter (pp. 149, 25-150, 6). Bonenfant assumes that he speaks of the Hôtels-Dieu at Paris, Noyon, Provins, Tournai, Liège (*Cartulaire de l'Hôpital Saint-Jean-de-Bruxelles. Actes des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Bruxelles, 1953; p. VII).

P. Alberdingk-Thijm, *De gestichten van liefdadigheid in België van Karel den Groote tot aan de XVI<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, *Mémoires couronnées* 45, Bruxelles, 1883; *Geschichte der Wohltätigkeitsanstalten in Belgien*, Freiburg i. Br., 1887. M. Bassereau, *Hôtels-Dieu, hospices, hôpitaux et infirmeries au moyen âge*, Paris, 1958. P. Bonenfant, *Hôpitaux et bienfaisance publique dans les anciens Pays-Bas des origines à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Annales de la Société Belge d'Histoire des Hôpitaux* 3, Bruxelles, 1965. CE, VII, 476-77, 480-87. R. Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, London, 1909. U. Craemer, *Das Hospital im Mittelalter*, *Das Krankenhaus*, 46 (1954), 261-67; *Das Hospital als Bautyp des Mittelalters*, Köln, 1963. Cottineau, I, 571. Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, VI, 2748-70. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,

VII, 190-96. EC, IX, 415. F. Falk, *Die Sorge für die peregrini et pauperes in den alten Klöstern*, *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 114 (1894), 340-50. GC, III, 205. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 611-615. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 297-312, III, 172-78. J. Imbert, *Les hôpitaux en droit canonique (du décret de Gratien à la sécularisation de l'administration de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris en 1505)*, Paris, 1947. E. Jeanselme, *La lèpre en France au moyen âge*, *Revue de technique médicale*, 5 (1925), 985-93. G. Kurth, *La lèpre en occident avant les croisades*, *Compte rendu du Congrès Scientifique et International des Catholiques* (Paris), 5 (1891), II, 125-47. Lallemand, pp. 39-228, 231-99. A. Leflaive, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune et les hospitalières*, Paris, 1959. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocèse de Paris au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 24 (1897), 61-365, 25 (1898), 47-178; *Les maisons-Dieu, leur régime intérieur au moyen âge*, *RQH*, 63 (1898), 99-147; *Les maisons-Dieu, leurs statuts au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *RQH*, 60 (1896), 95-134; *Les statuts d'hôtels-Dieu et de léproseries: recueil de textes du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1901. E. Lesser, *Die Aussatzhäuser des Mittelalters*, Zürich, 1896. LTK, V<sup>2</sup>, 492-94. F. Meffert, *Caritas und Krankenwesen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i. Br., 1927. C. Mercier, *Leper Houses and Mediaeval Hospitals*, London, 1915. J. Mundy, *Hospitals and Leprosaries in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Toulouse*, in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought Presented in Honor of A. P. Evans*, J. Mundy and others, eds., New York, 1955, pp. 181-205. E. Nasalli Rocca, *Il diritto ospedaliero nei suoi lineamenti storici*, Milano, 1956; *La preghiera collettiva dei malati negli ospedali medioevali*, *La rassegna di clinica terapia e scienze affini*, Supplemento, *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di Storia dell'Arte Sanitaria*, Ser. 2, 7 (1941), 173-79; *Ospedali e ordini ospedalieri nella storia dell'assistenza*, *Humanitas: Rivista mensile di cultura*, 2 (Brescia, 1947), 68-79; *Ospedali e canoniche regolari*, *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali* 3, *Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*, Milano, 1959, I, 16-25. R. Petit, *La lutte contre la lèpre au moyen âge*, *Les lépreux saumurois, la dernière page de leur histoire*, Saumur, 1930. A. Philipsborn, *Les premiers hôpitaux au moyen âge (Orient et Occident)*, *Nouvelle Clio*, 6 (Bruxelles, 1954), 137-63. G. Ratzinger, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege*, 2nd ed., Freiburg i. Br., 1884. S. Reicke, *Das deutsche Spital und sein Recht im Mittelalter*, *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* 111-114, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1932. M. Risley, *House of Healing; the Story of the Hospital*, Garden City, N.Y., 1961. G. Schreiber, *Byzantinisches und Abendländisches Hospital*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 42 (1943), 116-49, 373-76. E. Speakman, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, *Dublin Review*, 133 (1903), 283-96 (contains a translation of Jacques de Vitry). R. Vaultier, *Les hôpitaux au moyen âge*, *Presse médicale*, 60 (Paris, 1952), 1812-15. S. Vilaseca Anguera, *Hospitals medievals de Reus*, Reus, 1958. *Aus der Geschichte des Krankenhauswesens im frühen Mittelalter in Morgenland und Abendland*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 21 (1929), 164-203.

## HOSPITALS, BRUSSELS

P. Bonenfant, *L'ancienne léproserie Saint-Pierre à Bruxelles*, Notice historique, Bruxelles, 1930; *Cartulaire de l'Hôpital Saint-Jean-de-Bruxelles*, Actes des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Bruxelles, 1953; *Hôpitaux et bienfaisance publique dans les anciens Pays-Bas des origines à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Annales de la Société Belge d'Histoire des Hôpitaux 3, Bruxelles, 1965, chaps. 4-6. H. De Bruyn, *Documents relatifs à l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean-au-Marais à Bruxelles*, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 4 (1867), 128-32; *L'origine de l'église et de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean-au-Marais à Bruxelles*, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 4 (1867), 25-47. A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols., Bruxelles, 1845, III, 225. L. Verniers, *Un millénaire d'histoire de Bruxelles*, depuis les origines jusqu'en 1830, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 118.

## HOSPITALS, LIÈGE

Jacques de Vitry probably had in mind the Hospital of Saint Christopher. Connected with it were a chapel and a beguinage. Documents attest to a new organization of the institution in 1211-1212, a process in which John of Nivelles, associate of Jacques de Vitry, took part.

Balau, pp. 438-40. Greven, *Ursprung*, pp. 27-49. F. Hénau, *Histoire du pays de Liège*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Liège, 1872-1874, I, 133. G. Kurth, *La lèpre en Occident avant les Croisades*, *Compte rendu du Congrès Scientifique et International des Catholiques* (Paris), 5 (1891), II, 145. LTK, VI<sup>2</sup>, 1242. McDonnell, pp. 42-44, 168. E. Poncet, *Actes des princes-évêques de Liège*, Hugues de Pierrepont, 1200-1229, Bruxelles, 1946, p. 92, n° 86, p. 109, n° 105.

## HOSPITALS, NOYON

In 1218 the Hôtel-Dieu of Saint John adopted the constitutions of the hospital of Montdidier. In turn Hélyot mentions that the hospitallers of Beauvais in 1246 modelled some of their constitutions on those of Noyon.

*Règle de Saint-Augustin et constitutions pour les religieuses hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Saint-Jean de Noyon*, Paris, 1643. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 306. A. Lefranc, *Histoire de la ville de Noyon et de ses institutions jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1887; *Un règlement intérieur de léproserie au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Saint-Quentin, 1889. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu, leurs statuts au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, RQH, 60 (1896), 96, 115, 133; *Les maisons-Dieu, leur régime intérieur au moyen âge*, RQH, 63 (1898), 108, 136. Le Grand, *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu*, XIII, Pt. 2, ch. 4, pp. 194-99. Ab. Leroux, *Les hospices de Noyon*, *Mémoires du Comité Archéologique, Historique et Scientifique de Noyon*, 1 (1885), 33-37. L. Mazière, *Noyon hospitalier*, *Mémoires du Comité Archéologique, Historique et Scientifique de Noyon*, 11 (1895), 118-59. R. Pagel, *Bibliographie noyonnaise*, Auch, 1903, pp. 79-80.



## HOSPITALS, PARIS

Chevalier, TB, 2282. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocèse de Paris au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 24 (1897), 61–365, 25 (1898), 47–178. D. Mackay, *Les hôpitaux et la charité à Paris au treizième siècle*, 1923.

Hôtel-Dieu: The hospital was supposedly founded by Saint Landry in the middle of the seventh century, though the earliest known document is from 829. The oldest known rule, based on that of Saint Augustine, dates from 1217. There were two communities, for men and women, but the male branch disappeared in the sixteenth century.

Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, *Les religieuses augustines hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, 651–1957, Paris, 1958. L. Brièle and E. Coyecque, *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157–1300)*, Paris, 1894. Cath, I, 1037, V, 985–86. M. Du Camp, *La charité privée à Paris*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1887. A. Chevalier, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris et les sœurs augustines (650–1810)*, Paris, 1901. C. Courcy, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, un des plus anciens hôpitaux d'Europe*, *Medizin-historisches Journal (Hildesheim)*, 2 (1967), 269–316. E. Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au moyen âge, histoire et documents (1316–1552)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1889–1891. DHGE, V, 639–43. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, III, 188–98. Le Grand, *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu*, Pt. 1, ch. 5, pp. 43–53. NCE, I, 1061, VIII, 160, 173. Risley, pp. 135–40, 179–82. A. Rousselet, *Notes de l'ancien Hôtel-Dieu*, Paris, 1888. M. Sentex, *Institut des religieuses augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (VII<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 1924.

Saint Gervais: In 1171 a hospital was founded in a former convent of nuns with the title of Saint Anastasia, though the hospital was soon called Saint Gervais because of its proximity to the parish of that name. In the nature of a hospice it was planned for travelers and homeless men.

Cottineau, II, 2197. GC, VII, 873–75. *La grande encyclopédie*, X, 505. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 615. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 300–01. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocèse de Paris au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 24 (1897), 158–70.

Saint Catherine: Founded in 1188, the hospital was first called Saint Opportunus from the nearby parish church, but in the thirteenth century it became known as Saint Catherine. The religious of both sexes followed the Augustinian Rule. Intended as a hospice for homeless women, it also served as a morgue and had the responsibility of burying those who died on the streets or in the Châtelet.

L. Brièle, *L'Hôpital de Sainte-Catherine, en la rue Saint-Denis (1184–1790)*, Paris, 1890. Friedmann, p. 354. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 615. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 298–300. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocèse de Paris au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, 24 (1897), 271–78.

In the early thirteenth century there also existed at Paris a leprosarium, a hospice of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem founded in 1158, and the Hospital of the Trinity or Croix-la-Reine founded in 1202 for pilgrims. Piganiol, I, 16. Friedmann, pp. 37, 350. Le Grand, *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu*, Pt. 2, ch. 12, pp. 240–46.

## HOSPITALS, PROVINS

E. Bourquelot, *Histoire de Provins*, Paris, 1839–1840, pp. 383–90. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu, leurs statuts au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, RQH, 60 (1896), 120. L. Morel-Payen, *Troyes et Provins*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, pp. 115ff.

## HOSPITALS, RONCEVALLES

The Hospital of Saint Mary, a good example of a pilgrim hospice, was one of the more famous hospitals of medieval times, serving chiefly the travellers to Compostella. A chapel or sanctuary seems to have existed early in the ninth century, until Bishop Sánchez of Pamplona founded the hospital under the care of a body of canons. The Rule of Saint Augustine was followed without commentary or customary. Assisting the canons was a confraternity of both sexes. Possibly the canons alone followed the Augustinian Rule, and the confraternity had its own institutes, though nothing has come down to us. The monastery became the head of a congregation with houses in France and England, such as the hôtel-Dieu at Villefranche and at Braux (Meuse) and in London at Charing Cross. An Augustinian monastery exists at the present time at Roncevalles.

CE, XI, 438. Chevalier, TB, 2609. Clay, pp. 209, 247. Coloquios de Roncevalles, Agosto, 1955, Zaragoza, 1957. Cottineau, II, 2529. V. Dubarat, *La Commanderie et l'Hôpital d'Ordiarp, dépendance du monastère de Roncevaux, en Soule (Basses-Pyrénées)*, Pau, 1887; *Roncevaux: charte de fondation, poème du moyen âge, règle de Saint-Augustin, obituaire, étude historique et littéraire*, Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau, 18 (1889), 377–452. V. Dubarat and J. Darantz, *Un procès entre l'évêché de Bayonne et le monastère de Roncevaux au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1332–1335)*, Bayonne, 1926. Dugdale, VI, Pt. 2, 677. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, LII, 246–47. J. Galloway, *Saint Mary Roncevall*, London, 1907; *The Hospital and Chapel of Saint Mary Roncevall at Charing Cross*, London, 1913; *Historical Sketches of Old Charing: The Hospital and Chapel of Saint Mary Roncevall*, Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England, and the Monuments Erected in Her Memory, London, 1914. J. Goñi Gaztambide, *La reforma de los canónigos de Roncevalles en el siglo XIV*, *Hispania sacra*, 9 (1956), 153–74. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 188–93. J. Lacarra, *Las más antiguas fundaciones monásticas en el Paso de Roncevalles*, Homenaje a D. Julio de Urquijo e Ybarra, *Estudios relativos al País Vasco*, San Sebastian, 1949, I, 91–108. E. Lambert, *Etudes sur le pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle: Roncevaux et ses monuments*, *Etudes médiévales*, Toulouse, 1956, I, 159–87; *Roncevaux dans la légende et dans l'histoire*, Gure Herria (Bayonne), 1955, n° 3, pp. 161–76; *Roncevaux*, Bulletin hispanique, 37 (1935), 417–36. L. Le Grand, *Les maisons-Dieu, leurs statuts au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, RQH, 60 (1896), 95–134; *Statuts d'hôtels-Dieu*, p. 5. L. Letrone, *L'abbaye de Roncevaux*, Bulletin de la Société Ramond, Bagnères-de-Bigorre, 5 (1870), 144. H. Sarasa, *Reseña histórica de la real casa de Nuestra Señora de Roncevalles*, Pamplona, 1879.

## HOSPITALS, SAINT-ANTOINE-DE-VIENNOIS

The Congregation was founded by Gaston of Dauphiné in 1095 at Saint-Didier-de-la-Motte (Isère) as a lay society adjacent to the Benedictine Priory of Saint Anthony, a dependency of Montmajour. The Benedictines exercised some supervision over the group until the Order became an exempt institute. The group was originally dedicated to the care of those suffering from Saint Anthony's fire, or erysipelas, and other diseases of the skin, though they also harbored travellers and pilgrims and later had the privilege of caring for the sick of the papal household. Their emblem was a blue thau or Saint Anthony's cross. Urban II approved the society in 1095, Honorius III in 1218 permitted the taking of the three vows, and in 1298 Boniface VIII reorganized them as canons regular under the Rule of Saint Augustine and statutes largely modelled on the military orders. The Benedictine church at Saint-Didier was given to them, erected into an abbey and served as the central house of the Order. There were reforms in 1616 and 1630, but in 1777 the Congregation was united to the Knights of Malta and by 1803 had become defunct. The Order spread in the medieval period into France, Italy, England, and Germany. In Germany they were known as *Tönniesherrn* from *Tönnies* or *Donges Feuer* (Saint Anthony's fire). At Acre a commandery was established in 1208, where Jacques de Vitry would have had contact with them as bishop of that see.

Holste, V, 119-61. V. Advielle, *Histoire de l'ordre hospitalier de Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois et de ses commanderies et prieurés*, Paris, 1883. N. Backmund, *Die Chorherrn und ihre Stifte in Bayern*, Passau, 1966, pp. 231-42. CE, I, 555. Cath, I, 683. Chevalier, TB, 2666. Clay, pp. 208-09. Cottineau, II, 2593-95. E. Davin, *Les Antonins et le mal des ardents*, Le Fureteur, 12 (Paris, 1953), 125-29. DHGE, V, 610. H. Dijon, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné, histoire et archéologie*, Grenoble, 1902. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, I, 1454. EC, I, 1522-23. J. De Font-Réaulx, *Saint-Antoine-en-Viennois*, Congrès Archéologique de France, Société Française d'Archéologie, 86 (1923), 164-81. GC, XVI, 186-207. P. Gauthier, *La commanderie des Antonins de Bourg*, Bulletin d'histoire et archéologie du diocèse de Belley, 3 (1948), n° 8, pp. 49-60, 81-91. M<sup>me</sup> Gil-Reicher, *Le mal des ardents et les confréries des Antonins en Provence*, Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Scientifiques et Archéologiques de Draguignan, 49 (1952-1953), 31-33. R. Graham, *The Order of Saint Antoine de Viennois and its English Commandery, Saint Anthony's, Threadneedle Street*, Archaeological Journal, N.S., 34 (1927), 341-406. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 423-24, 612. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 110-16. E. Krausen, *Antoniter und Antoniusverehrung in Bayern*, Unser Bayern, Heimatbeilage der bayerischen Staatszeitung, 10 (1961), 3-4. LTK, I<sup>2</sup>, 677. L. Mailliet-Guy, *Les commanderies de l'ordre de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné*, RM, 16 (1926), 1-26, 173-91, 289-313, 17 (1927), 114-31, 218-36, 352-78; *Les grands maîtres de Saint-Antoine*, Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie et de Statistique de la Drôme, 59 (1925), 141-59, 267-80; *Les origines de Saint-Antoine, (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie et de Statistique de la Drôme, 41 (1907-1908), 91-106, 176-86, 319-27, 378-96, 42 (1908), 66-78, 182-86; *Saint-Antoine*

et Montmajour au Concile de Bâle (1434-1438), *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie et de Statistique de la Drôme*, 61 (1927), 113-29, 161-87, 62 (1928), 273-91. A. Mischlewski, *Der Antoniterorden in Deutschland*, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 10 (1958), 39-66. P. Noordeloos, *Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de commanderie van S. Antonius te Maastricht*, *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le duché de Limbourg*, 92-93 (1956-1957), 153-254; *La translation de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 60 (1942), 68-81. A. Perrin, *Les hospitaliers de la commanderie de Saint-Antoine de Chambéry*, Chambéry, 1890. Ratzinger, p. 343. J. Rauch, *Der Antoniterorden*, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 9 (1957), 33-50; *Geschichte des Antoniterhauses Rossdorf-Höchst*, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 11 (1959), 76-159. Reicke, Pt. 1, pp. 156-66. F. Schaedelin, *La commanderie de Saint-Antoine à Froideval près Belfort*, *Revue d'Alsace*, 78 (1931), 285-305, 442-65, 621-86, 738-57. H. Schmauch, *Über die Tätigkeit der Antonitermönche von Frauenburg*, *Heimat: Unser ermländisches Mitteilungsblatt des historischen Vereins für Ermland*, 6 (1960), 20. H. Seifart, *Die Tönniesfresser und der ehrsame Rat in Hildesheim*, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Culturgeschichte*, N. F., 1 (1872), 121-27. H. Tribaut de Morembert, *L'ordre hospitalier de Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois à Metz*, *Les Amis de Metz*, N. S., 2 (1961), 5-8; *La réception d'un frère dans l'ordre de Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois*, *Les Cahiers lorrains*, 18 (1938), 99-102. F. Tucholski, *Der Antoniterorden und die Kölner Antoniterkirche*, *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlands*, 10 (1961), 219-23.

### HOSPITALS, SANTO SPIRITO IN SASSIA

The Congregation of the Holy Spirit, which eventually spread throughout most of Europe, was founded as a lay society with both male and female members. Though the customs and constitutions had been evolving in the early part of the century, the Order was reorganized in 1252 as a clerical community, based on the Rule of Saint Augustine but with a strong influence of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. Reforms were initiated in 1444, 1477, and 1826, but the institute was finally suppressed in 1847.

PL, CCXV, 376-380. CCXVII, 1137-58. Holste, V, 495-520. B. Da Alatri, *L'ospedale romano di S. Spirito in Sassia e i cappuccini. Note storico-commemorativo del primo centenario dell'assistenza spirituale affidata ai cappuccini, 1856-1956*, Roma, 1956. K. Anstosiewicz, *Zakon Ducha Świętego de Saxia w Polsce średniowiecznej*, *Nasza Przyszłość*, 23 (1966), 167-98; see also *Sprawozdania z Czynności Wydawniczej i Posiedzeń Naukowych oraz Kronika Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, Lublin, 1965, n° 14, pp. 191-95. N. Backmund, *Die Chorherrenorden und ihre Stifte in Bayern*, Passau, 1966, pp. 215-29. W. Berweck, *Das Heilig-Geistspital zu Villingen im Schwarzwald von der Gründung bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Villingen, 1963. P. Brune, *Histoire de l'ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1892. A. Canezza, *Gli arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina, nella storia e nell'arte*, I, *Santo Spirito in Sassia*, Roma, 1933; *L'ospedale romano di Santo Spirito*

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#### HOSPITALS, TOURNAI

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## HUMILIATI

G. Bascapé, Insegne e sigilli dell'ordine degli Umiliati, Studi di letteratura, storia e filosofia in onore di Bruno Revel, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, Ser. 1, LXXIV, Firenze, 1965, pp. 93-94. Cath, V, 1097-98. Chevalier, TB, 1473. A. De Stefano, Le origini dell'ordine degli Umiliati, Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche, 2 (1906), 851-71; Riformatori ed eretici del medioevo, Palermo, 1938, pp. 125-208. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, VII, 311-21. EC, XII, 754-56. E. Gruber, Die Humiliaten im alten Tessin, Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte, 18 (1938), 268-304. P. Guerrini, Gli Umiliati a Brescia, Miscellanea Pio Paschini, I, Romae, 1948, pp. 187-214; La prepositura degli Umiliati di S. Bartolomeo in Cemmo di Valle Canonica, Brixia sacra, 7 (1916), 205-12. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 200. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, VI, 152-69. LTK, V<sup>2</sup>, 534-35. G. Mercati, Due ricerche per la storia degli Umiliati, Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 11 (1957), 167-94. I. Da Milano, Il Liber supra stella del piacentino Salvo Burci contro i Catari e altre correnti ereticali, Aevum, 17 (1943), 121-34. J. Pierron, Die katholischen Armen, Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Bettelorden mit Berücksichtigung der Umiliaten und der wiedervereinigten Lombarden, Freiburg i. Br., 1911. R. Soriga, Per la storia degli Umiliati in Pavia, Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria, 16 (1916), 189-90. H. Tiraboschi, Vetera Humiliatorum monumenta, 3 vols., Mediolani, 1766-1768. G. Volpe, Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali, Firenze, 1922. L. Zanoni, Gli Umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia, l'industria della lana ed i comuni nei secoli XII e XIII sulla scorta di documenti inediti, Biblioteca storica Italica, Ser. 2, vol. II, Milano, 1911.

## JOHN DE LIRO

While Lecoy (Chaire, p. 516) speaks of John as *personnage inconnu*, there is some historical data about his life. Roisin (L'hagiographie, p. 51) states he was a priest of the diocese of Liège. He was closely associated with Jacques de Vitry and John of Nivelles as spiritual counsellor and guide of the Beguines and other pious women of Belgium, including Saint Lutgarde. With John of Nivelles he assisted at the erection of the Augustinian canonry at Neumoustier into an abbey in 1208. Jacques de Vitry probably made his acquaintance at Paris. Thomas of Cantimpré in his life of Saint Lutgarde (AA SS, Jun. III, 245) mentions that he died in the Alps about 1216 while on a journey to Rome to seek approval for the feminine religious movement of the north.

Writers customarily refer to John de Liro as John of Lier, after the town near Antwerp. This has been disputed by A. Van Roy, Lutgardis van Tongeren, Heiligen van onzen stam, Bruges-Brussel, 1946, cited in Roisin, L'hagiographie, p. 58. Van Roy states there is no documentary evidence to show that *Lirum* was ever used for Lier, customarily denoted *Lira* or *Liera*. The author of the *Gallia Christiana* (III, 1002) in noting John's activity at Neumoustier refers to him as *Livanus*, but this is still clearly a modern reference.

Chevalier, BB, II, 2433. GC, III, 1002. Greven, Anfänge, pp. 54, 133ff. Greven, Ursprung, pp. 294-95. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen, pp. 171, 320, 455. Lecoy, Chaire, pp. 76, 516. McDonnell, pp. 46-47, 156. G. Meersseman, Les Frères-Prêcheurs et le mouvement dévot en Flandre au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, AFP, 18 (1948), 80. Roisin, L'hagiographie, pp. 51, 53, 58, 86-87.

### JOHN OF NIVELLES

John was closely associated with Jacques de Vitry, John de Liro and others in the guidance and promotion of Lowland spirituality. He was first canon at Saint John, then dean of the cathedral of Saint Lambert at Liège. He entered the Augustinian priory at Oignies shortly after the entrance of Jacques de Vitry and was an acquaintance of Mary of Oignies. He was active in various ecclesiastical affairs, such as the establishing of the Cistercian nunneries at Jardinot and Saint Remy and was one of the founders of the Beguines at Liège. Addressed to him were two of the letters of Jacques de Vitry, Letters VI and VII, Huygens, Lettres, pp. 123, 134.

Balau, p. 434. Berlière, Monasticon belge, I, 451. Bulaeus, II, 751, III, 694. Chevalier, BB, II, 2458. Cottineau, II, 2079. GC, III, 927. Greven, Ursprung, p. 302. HLF, XVI, 164. Lecoy, Chaire, p. 76. McDonnell, pp. 40-45.

### MARY OF OIGNIES

Mary was married at the age of fourteen and with her husband engaged in practical charity with the lepers at Willambrouk. Because of the spread of her fame for holiness, she sought seclusion and withdrew to a cell near the Augustinian canonry at Oignies. Here a circle of pious people slowly gathered about her, and she became one of the most remarkable figures in the early Beguine movement. She has enjoyed a certain popularity to our own time. In 1817 her remains were translated to the church of Saint Nicholas at Oignies.

AA SS, Jun. IV (1707), 630-84, Jun. V (1867), 542-88. J. Baudot and L. Chausin, Vies des saints et des bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'histoire des fêtes, 12 vols., Paris, 1935-1956, VI, 384-86. Bibliotheca hagiographica latina, II, n<sup>os</sup> 5516-17. Biographie nationale de Belgique, XIII, 716-18. Butler-Attwater, II, 623-26. Chevalier, BB, II, 3077. EC, VIII, 124-25. Féret, I, 238-39, 244. Grundmann, Geschichte, pp. 296-320. R. Hanon de Louvet, L'origine nivelloise de l'institution béguinale, Annales de la Société Archéologique et Folklorique de Nivelles et du Brabant Wallon, 12 (1952), 5-57. E. Hucq, Le sarcophage présumé de la bienheureuse Marie d'Oignies, Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Namur, 38 (1927), 231-44. J. Leclercq, Saints de Belgique, new ed., Tournai, 1953. Lejeune, pp. 443-48. LTK, VII<sup>2</sup>, 42. G. Meersseman, Les Frères-Prêcheurs et le mouvement dévot en Flandre au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, AFP, 18 (1948), 69-130. A. Mens, Oorsprong en Betekenis van de Nederlandse begijnen en begardenbeweging, Leuven, 1947. Molinier, III, 7, n<sup>o</sup> 2220. NCE, IX, 389. T. Rayée, Vie de sainte Marie de Nivelles, dite d'Oignies, Nivelles, 1893.



## MAURICE DE SULLY

Maurice was born at Sully-sur-Loire. As bishop he began the construction of the cathedral at Paris in 1163. He was the author of sermons, letters, and a treatise on the Canon of the Mass.

PL, CC, 1419-22, CCV, 897-914, CCXI, 313. CE, XIV, 329. Chevalier, BB, II, 3155. Féret, I, 50-57. La grande encyclopédie, XXIII, 428-29. HLF, XV, 149-58. A. Landgraf, Some Unknown Writings of the Early Scholastic Period, *New Scholasticism*, 4 (1930), 1-22. Lecoy, Chaire, pp. 41-50, 520-23, and *passim*. M. Martin, Maurice de Sully, bâtisseur de Notre-Dame, Paris, 1957; Maurice de Sully et son temps, *Revue des deux mondes*, 21 (1963), 108; Maurice de Sully, prédicateur, *Revue des deux mondes*, 22 (1964), 243-54. P. Meyer, Les manuscrits des sermons français de Maurice de Sully, *Romania*, 5 (1876), 466-87, 23 (1894), 177-91. M. Mortet, Une élection épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Maurice de Sully, Paris, 1885; Maurice de Sully, étude sur l'administration épiscopale pendant la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 16 (1889), 105-318. NCE, IX, 507. C. Pinchbeck, Maurice de Sully, *Romanic Review*, 34 (1943), 109-15. C. Robson, Maurice of Sully and the Mediaeval Vernacular Homily, Oxford, 1952; see also Erasmus, 10 (Darmstadt, 1957), 469-71.

## NOTRE DAME, BLOIS

The original community at Bourg-moyen was composed of secular canons, but the Rule of Saint Augustine was adopted in the course of a reform. Another reform occurred in 1210, shortly before Jacques de Vitry wrote. In 1647 the community joined the Congregation of Saint Genevieve.

L. Auvray, Le cartulaire du Bourg-moyen, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Orléanaise*, 8 (1886), 436. Cath, II, 88-91. Chevalier, TB, 421-22. Cottineau, I, 398-99. DHGE, IX, 222-23. GC, VIII, 1388-97. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, ed. G. Colverius, 2nd ed., Duaci, 1627, I, 57.

## PATARIA

M. Brown, Movimenti politico-religiosi a Milano al tempi della Pataria, *Archivio storico lombardo*, 58 (1931), 227-78. H. Cowdrey, The Papacy, the Patarnes, and the Church of Milan, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Ser. 5, 18 (1968), 25-48. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, XI, 2243-46. EC, IX, 936-39. A. Dondaine, Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 19 (1952), 65-134. A. Frugoni, Due schede: pannosus e patarinus, *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 65 (1953), 129-35. J. Goetz, Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Pataria, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 12 (1916), 17-55, 164-94. LTK, VIII<sup>2</sup>, 166. I. Da Milano, Le eresie popolari nel secolo XI, *Studi gregoriani* 2, Roma,

1947, pp. 73-79. G. Miccoli, Per la storia della Pataria milanese, *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 70 (1958), 43-123. A. Sacchetti Sassetti, I Paterini a Rieti nel secolo XIII, *Archivio di Società Romana di Storia Patria*, Ser. 3, 20 (1966), 87-99. G. Schwartz, Die Herkunft des Namens Pataria, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 12 (1916), 402-10. C. Violante, La Pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica, I, Le premesse, 1045-1057, Roma, 1955; I laici nel movimento patarino, I laici nella *societas christiana* dei secoli XI e XII, Milano, 1968, pp. 597-687, 688-97; I movimenti patarini e la riforma ecclesiastica, *Annuario dell'Università Cattolica*, Milano, 1956-1957.

### PETER CANTOR

At Paris Peter had a long career as professor, becoming the leader of a theological school with a moral, practical, and biblical emphasis. Robert Courçon, Stephen Langton, and probably Jacques de Vitry were his more important pupils. His chief writings are the *Verbum abbreviatum*, the *Summa de sacramentis*, and the *Summa quae dicitur Abel*. Though elected bishop of Tournai in 1191 and bishop of Paris in 1196, neither election was ratified, either because of opposition or refusal.

For exempla and anecdotes about Peter Cantor see Frenken, n° 35, p. 115, Greven, *Exempla*, n° 36, pp. 25-26; and Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, XII, 48 (Strange, II, 354).

PL, CCV, 12-14, 20-554. J. Baldwin, A Debate at Paris over Thomas Becket between Master Roger and Master Peter the Cantor, *Studia gratiana*, 11 (1967), 119-32. G. Birkner, Notre Dame Cantoren und Succentoren vom Ende des 10. bis zum Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts, In memoriam Jacques Handschin, Straßburg, 1962, pp. 107-26. A. Boutemy, Giraud de Barri et Pierre le Chantre, Une source de la *Gemma ecclesiastica*, *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 2 (1946), 45-62. Bulaeus, II, 763-64. Chevalier, BB, II, 3702. E. Demoutet, La théologie de l'Eucharistie à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Le témoignage de Pierre le Chantre d'après la *Summa de Sacramentis*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 14 (1945), 181-262. Denifle, *Chartularium*, I, 14, n° 3. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XII, 1901-06. J. Dugauquier, Pierre le Chantre, *Summa de Sacramentis et animae consiliis*, *Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia* 4, 7, 11, 16, 21, Louvain, 1954-67. EC, IX, 1429-30. Féret, I, 58-67. F. Gillmann, Die Form der eucharistischen Konsekration beim letzten Abendmahl nach Petrus Cantor, *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, 14 (1915), 388-93. M. Grabmann, Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode, Freiburg i. Br., 1909-1911, II, 478-85. F. Gutjahr, Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, sein Leben und seine Schriften, ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Gelehrten Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts auf Grund des Nachlasses von O. Schmidt bearbeitet, Graz, 1899. Gutsch, pp. 200-01. HLF, XV, 283-303. A. Landgraf, Der Adoptionismus des Petrus Cantor, *Divus Thomas*, 14 (Fribourg, 1936), 205-09; Der Paulinenkommentar und der Psalmenkommentar des Petrus Cantor und die *Glossa magna* des Petrus Lombardus, *Biblica*, 31 (1950), 379-89; Werke aus der engeren Schule des Petrus Cantor, *Gregorianum*, 21

(1940), 34-74. LTK, VIII<sup>2</sup>, 353-54. V. Mortet, Hugue de Fouilloi, Pierre le Chantre, Alexandre Neckham et les critiques dirigées au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle contre le luxe des constructions, *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*, Paris, 1913, pp. 105-37. NCE, XI, 213. E. Sanford, The Verbum abbreviatum of Petrus Cantor, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 74 (1943), 33-48. Dialogue entre Philippe Auguste et Pierre le Chantre, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 2 (1840-1841), 398-401.

#### PIERRE DE ROISSY

Pierre was the author of sermons, Scriptural glosses, and the treatise, *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae*, although he borrowed much from other writers.

Bulaeus, II, 768. Chevalier, BB, II, 3743. Cottineau, II, 2496. M. D'Alvernavy, *Les mystères de l'église d'après Pierre de Roissy*, *Mélanges René Crozet*, Poitiers, 1966, II, 1085-1104. Féret, I, 246. B. Hauréau, *Mémoire sur quelques chanceliers de l'église de Chartres*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 31 (1884), 104ff. HLF, XVIII, 524. V. Kennedy, The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres, *Mediaeval Studies*, 5 (1943), 1-38. S. Kuttner, Pierre de Roissy and Robert of Flamborough, *Traditio*, 2 (1944), 492-99. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Duaci, 1624, Lib. XXIX, c. 59.

#### PREMONSTRATENSIAN NUNS

A. Erens, Les sœurs dans l'ordre de Prémontré, *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 5 (1929), 5-26. McDonnell, pp. 101-04. M. Bateson, The Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., 13 (1899), 137-198. U. Berlière, Les monastères doubles aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, *Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, *Mémoires* 8<sup>o</sup>, 18 (1923), n<sup>o</sup> 3. Greven, *Anfänge*, p. 112ff. S. Hilpisch, Die Doppelklöster, Entstehung und Organisation, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens* 15, Münster, 1928. H. Lamy, L'abbaye de Tongerlo, depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1263, *Revue des travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philosophie de l'Université de Louvain* 44, Louvain, 1914, pp. 92-103. E. De Moreau, Les monastères doubles, leur histoire, surtout en Belgique, *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 71 (1939), 787-92. C. Stoney, *Early Double Monasteries*, Cambridge, 1915. J. Zeller, Das Prämonstratenserstift Adelberg, das letzte schwäbische Doppelkloster, 1178 (1188) bis 1476, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Doppelklöster, besonders im Prämonstratenserorden*, *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, N. F., 25 (1916), 107-62.

## ROBERT COURÇON

Born in England, Robert was a student at Paris under Peter Cantor and also instructor at the university in the first decade of the thirteenth century. He was a canon at Noyon, then Paris, and in 1212 was created cardinal, serving in the Curia and undertaking several papal embassies, one noteworthy example being the reorganization of the studies and statutes at the University of Paris in 1215. He preached the crusade against the Albigenses, assisted in the preparation of the Fourth Crusade, and died at Damietta in the course of the Fifth Crusade. His *Summa theologica*, with a strong juristic and ethical emphasis, was written between 1204–1208. His commentary on the Sentences is lost. He is mentioned by Jacques de Vitry in his letters: Letter V, 99–106, Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 116, and Letter IV, 241–42, Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 110.

Chevalier, BB, II, 3989. M. and C. Dickson, *Le Cardinal Robert de Courçon, sa vie*, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, 9 (1934), 53–142. Dictionnaire de biographie française, IX, 990–91. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, XIII, 2749–50. A. Emden, *A Biographical Register of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1957–1959, I, 498–99. EC, X, 1037–38. Féret, I, xxviii–xxix. M. Grabmann, *I divieti ecclesiastici di Aristotele sotto Innocenzo III e Gregorio IX*, Roma, 1941. Greven, *Frankreich*, pp. 19–20. S. Hanssens, *De legatieris van Robert van Courson in Vlaanderen en Henegouwen*, *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer*, Louvain, 1946, I, 528–38. HLF, XVII, 395–96. LTK, VIII<sup>2</sup>, 1338. V. Kennedy, *The Content of Courson's Summa*, *Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (1947), 81–107; *Robert Courson on Penance*, *Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1945), 291–336. G. Lefèvre, *Le Traité de Usura de Robert de Courçon*, Lille, 1902. NCE, XII, 529. Russell, pp. 132–33. *Vie du Cardinal Robert de Courson*, *Revue historique de l'Ouest*, 10 (1894), 352–434.

## SAINT-ANTOINE-DES-CHAMPS, PARIS

The convent instituted by Fulk of Neuilly is not to be confused with the more famous Cistercian nunnery of Port-Royal, founded in 1215, also dedicated to Saint Anthony, and known as Port-Royal-des-Champs before its translation into the city in 1637.

Beaunier, I, 85–87. H. Bonnardot, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, de l'ordre de Cîteaux, étude topographique et historique*, Paris, 1882; see also *Revue archéologique*, 40 (1880), 342–58. Chevalier, TB, 2665. Cottineau, II, 2202–03. P. Du Verdier, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, Positions des Thèses de l'Ecole de Chartes*, 1931, pp. 57–64. GC, VII, 899–906. LTK, IV<sup>2</sup>, 448. Van der Meer, p. 294.

## SAINT AUBERT, CAMBRAI

Originally dedicated to Saint Peter, the name of the monastery was later changed to Aubert in honor of the celebrated bishop of Cambrai (d. 668) who was interred there.

M. Bruchet, *Les rouleaux des morts du Saint-Sépulcre et de Saint-Aubert de Cambrai*, *Bulletin de la Commission Historique du Département du Nord*, 30 (1914), 241–315. Chevalier, *TB*, 554–58. Cottineau, I, 570, II, 2599. *DHGE*, V, 222–25, XI, 564. *GC*, III, 153–56. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 79. A. Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubert (1075–1250)*, *Bulletin de la Commission Historique du Département du Nord*, 7 (1863), 1.

## SAINT FRANCIS IN THE ORIENT

Jacques de Vitry's recital of Saint Francis' confrontation with the sultan at Damietta remains the principal documentation of the episode. The passage in *Letter VI*, 256–69, Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 132–33, gives the salient facts, while the account in the *Historia Occidentalis*, slightly later in time, gives an insight into the spiritual message of Francis. These two passages, together with *Letter I*, 107–35, Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 75–76, and *Letter VI*, 243–76, Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 131–33, are the oldest extant historical documents on Francis and the Friars Minor (Gemelli, pp. 486–89; Callebaut, p. 546). All the texts of authors to the year 1508 who report on the incident at Damietta can be found in Golubovich, I, 1–84. On the question as to whether or not this was the first meeting of Francis and Jacques de Vitry, see Gemelli, pp. 484–86, and Callebaut, p. 551.

S. Francesco d'Assisi e la Terra Santa nel VII centenario dal suo viaggio in Oriente, 1219–1919, Gerusalemme, 1919. G. Basetti-Sani, *Mohammed et saint François*, Ottawa, 1959. F. Delorme, *Les Espagnols à la bataille de Damiette (29 août, 1219)*, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 16 (1923), 245–46. G. Golubovich, *San Francesco e i Francescani in Damietta*, 5 Nov., 1219–2 Feb., 1220, *Studi francescani*, 23 (1926), 307–330. H. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1958. Huygens, *Les passages*, pp. 446–53. N. Jacopozzi, *Dove sia avvenuta la visita di San Francesco d'Assisi al Sultano Malek el-Kamel*, XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Géographie, le Caire, Avril, 1925, V, le Caire, 1926. L. Lemmens, *De Sancto Francisco Christum praedicante coram sultano Egypti*, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 19 (1926), 559–78. H. Lützel and A. Dempf, *Der heilige Franziskus, Die ältesten Urkunden*, Kempen, 1949. A. Natali, *Gli Arabi e S. Francesco all crociate*, *Italia francescana*, 33 (1958), 154–62. M. Roncaglia, *Fonte arabo-musulmano su San Francesco in Oriente?*, *Studi francescani*, 50 (1953), 258–59; *San Francesco d'Assisi in Oriente*, *Studi francescani*, 50 (1953), 97–106; *Storia della provincia di Terra Santa*, Quaracchi, 1953 (English transl., *Saint Francis in the Middle East*, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1957). F. Van Ortroy, *Saint François et son voyage en Orient*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), 451–62. O. Van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermission und ihre Weiterentwicklung im Nahen Orient und in den mohammedanischen Ländern während des 13. Jahrhunderts*, *Werke i. Westf.*, 1934.

### SAINT-JEAN-DES-VIGNES, SOISSONS

The monastery, near Soissons (Aisne), was established by Hugh, Count of Château-Thierry, and Bishop Théobald. Several other monasteries were dependent upon it.

Chevalier, TB, 2716-17. Cottineau, II, 3051. DHGE, V, 608. Dictionnaire du droit canonique, I, 1415. GC, IX, 256-62. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 86-101. H. Luguet, Du régime, de la règle et des constitutions de l'abbaye de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes de Soissons, Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Scientifique de Soissons, Ser. 4, 6 (1933-1935), 68-69. G. Oury, Le De claustro animae de Jean, prieur de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, 40 (1964), 427-42. F. Soyer, Bulles originales inédites concernant l'abbaye de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, à Soissons, ordre de Saint-Augustin (1171-1278), conservées dans les archives départementales du Loiret, Paris, 1918.

### SAINT MARK, APOSTLE

Various explanations have been presented to clarify the origin of this tale about Saint Mark. As early as the third century Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*, VII, 30; *Patrologia graeca*, VI, 3334) refers to him as «stump-fingered», indicating possibly that the apostle had naturally short, blunted fingers. Another tradition is that Mark after his conversion amputated his thumbs to make himself unfit to continue in the Levitical priesthood. Others have offered a literary interpretation; that is, the tale refers to Mark's desertion of Paul in Acts 13, 13, or indicates that his Gospel is truncated, lacking introduction or conclusion.

F. Vigoroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, IV, 718. J. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, III, 247. Butler-Attwater, II, 160-62. CE, IX, 674. Jacobi a Voragine *Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Grässe, Leipzig, 1846, p. 265. The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, transl. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, New York, 1941, I, 238. New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, VII, 183.

### SAINT-MARTIN-DES-CHAMPS, PARIS

The existence of Saint-Martin-des-Champs is noted as early as 567 by Gregory of Tours, and a chapter of canons regular was found there in the tenth century. In 1060 Henry I replaced the church destroyed by the Normans, and in 1079 Philip I introduced the Benedictines.

Chevalier, TB, 2730. Cottineau, II, 2214-16. J. Depoin, Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, RM, 15 (1925), 168-96, 318-29; Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien, Paris-Ligugé, 1913-1921. GC, VII, 515-44. R. Graham, The Cluniac Priory of Saint Martin des Champs, Paris, and its Dependent Priors in England and Wales, Journal of the British Archaeological Association, Ser. 3, 11 (1948),

35-39. J. Hérissay, Les dernières Bénédictines de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, *Etudes: Revue fondée par des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 220 (1934), 17-31. P. Huguet, Notice historique sur l'ancien prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Neuilly, 1859. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, L'église de Saint-Martin-des-Champs à Paris, Congrès Archéologique de France, Société Française d'Archéologie, 82 (1920), 106-26. C. Normand, Le prieuré de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, *Bulletin de la Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens*, 1891, n<sup>os</sup> 19, 20, pp. 65-77. A. Pierson, L'abbaye de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris, 1919.

### SAINT NICHOLAS, OIGNIES

The priory, in the diocese and province of Namur, was established by Gilles de Walcourt and his two brothers. Though following the Augustinian Rule, it was not a member of any congregation. Jacques de Vitry belonged to the community for a time, consecrated the church and altars after his return from the Orient, and made frequent donations to the priory. After the suppression some of its treasures were concealed by the last prior and later donated to the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.

*Historia fundationis venerabilis ecclesiae beati Nicolae Oigniacensis*, Martène, *Veterum scriptorum*, VI, 327-30. A. Becquet, L'école artistique d'Oignies au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Namur*, 17 (1886), 129-42. Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, I, 450-60. J. Braun, Die Paramente im Schatz der Schwestern unserer lieben Frau zu Namur, *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 19 (1906), 289-304. Cottineau, II, 2123. F. Courtoy, Le trésor du prieuré d'Oignies aux Sœurs de Notre Dame à Namur et l'œuvre du frère Hugo, Bruxelles, 1953; see also *Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites* (Bruxelles), 3 (1951-1952), 119-259. Greven, *Mitra*, pp. 217-22. A. Lanotte, Le trésor du prieuré d'Oignies et l'œuvre du frère Hugo, *Namurcum*, 27 (1953), 49-53. LTK, VII<sup>2</sup>, 1122. McDonnell, pp. 8-19. F. Moschus, *Coenobarchia Oigniacensis sive antistitum qui Oigniacensi ad Sabim monasterio hactenus praeficere numero undetriginta catalogus, cum eulogiis et anagrammatis*, Duaci, 1598. E. Poncelet, Chartes du prieuré d'Oignies de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin, 2 vols., Namur, 1913-1914. E. Poumon, Hainaut, terre monastique, Vilvorde, 1954, pp. 36-37. E. R., Fondation du prieuré d'Oignies au commencement du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 10 (1873), 100-07. Ch. Toussaint, Histoire du monastère d'Oignies, de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin, Namur, 1880.

### SAINT YVED, BRAISNE

N. Backmund, *Monasticon praemonstratense*, 3 vols., Straubing, 1949-1956, II, 484-87. P. Browe, Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters, *Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie*, N. F., 14, Breslau, 1938; see also *Theologische Revue*, 37 (1938), 276-78. E. Brouette, Actes inconnus de Thierry et Philippe d'Alsace en faveur de l'abbaye de Braine, *Revue du Nord*, 37 (1955),

227-30; Obituaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Yved-de-Braine, Averbode, 1958; see also *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 34 (1958), 276-377, 35 (1959), 85-104. Chevalier, TB, 480. Cottineau, I, 475-76. DHGE, X, 376. P. Evermode, L'abbaye royale de Saint-Yved-de-Braisne et son miracle eucharistique, *Revue de l'Ordre de Prémontré et de ses missions*, 14 (1912), 321ff. GC, IX, 488-93. La grande encyclopédie, VII, 978. M. Herbelin, Notice sur le miracle du vray Corps-Dieu et sur la chasuble du miracle à Braine, *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon*, 9 (1858-1859), 103. HLF, XXI, 704-05. LTK, II<sup>2</sup>, 642. S. Prioux, Monographie de l'ancienne abbaye royale Saint-Yved-de-Braine, Paris, 1859. Notice sur la chasuble des miracles donnée à l'église de Braisne, *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon*, 9 (1858), 103-110.

### SANTIAGO, ORDER OF

The Order was established to combat the Moors but soon undertook the protection of the pilgrims journeying to Compostella. Its title, *de la espada*, was reflected in its emblem, a red cross with the shaft tapering into a sword blade. Commanderies existed chiefly in Spain and Portugal, the Portuguese branch later separating under its own grand master. In 1312 a female branch was organized. After 1505 the Order engaged chiefly in hospital work. It perdures today as an honorary society.

E. Benito Ruano, Balduino II de Constantinopla y la Orden de Santiago, *Un proyecto de defensa del imperio latino de oriente*, *Hisp*, 12 (1952), 3-36; *La Banca Toscana y la Orden de Santiago en el siglo XIII*, Valladolid, 1961; *Las órdenes militares españolas y la idea de cruzada*, *Hisp*, 16 (1956), 3-15; *Santiago, Calatrava y Antioquía*, *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 1 (1964), 549-60. V. Castañeda, Los cetros de Ucles mandados labrar par la Orden de Santiago, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 82 (1923), 443-52. Chevalier, TB, 2711-12. M. Cocheril, *Essai sur l'origine des ordres militaires dans la péninsule ibérique*, *COCR*, 20 (1958), 346-61, 21 (1959), 228-50, 302-29. Duque de Baena y de San Lúcar la Mayor, *El gran capitán y el maestrazgo de Santiago*, *Hisp*, 13 (1953), 179-84. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, LIV, 245-46. A. Ferrari, Alberto de Morra, postulador de la Orden de Santiago y su primar cronista, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 146 (1960), 63-139. GC, I, 991, 993. L. Garcia Abrines, *Milicias religiosas españolas medievales*, *Revista de la oficialidad de complemento*, Ministerio de Ejercito (Madrid), 5 (1949), 37-41. M. De Guillamas, *De las órdenes militares de Calatrava, Santiago, Alcántara y Montesa*, Madrid, 1952. C. Del Arroyo, *Privilegios reales de la Orden de Santiago en la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1946. Heimbucher<sup>3</sup>, I, 422-23. Hélyot<sup>2</sup>, II, 261-82. A. Javierre Mur and C. Del Arroyo, *Catálogo de los documentos referentes a los conventos de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara que se conservan en el Archivo Secreto de las Ordenes Militares*, Madrid, 1958. A. Javierre Mur, *Documentos para el estudio de la Orden de Santiago en Portugal en la Edad Media*, *Congreso Histórico de Portugal Medieval*, Guía oficial, Braga, 1959; *Fernando el Católico y las órdenes militares españolas*, *Fernando el Católico, vida y obra*, Zaragoza, 1955, pp. 287-



300. J. Leclercq, *La vie et la prière des chevaliers de Santiago d'après leur règle primitive*, Liturgica II, Scripta et Documenta 10, Montserrat, 1958, pp. 347-57. D. Lomax, *El Arzobispo D. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y la Orden de Santiago*, *Hisp*, 19 (1959), 323-65; *La Orden de Santiago (1170-1272)*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Estudio 38, Madrid, 1965; *The Order of Santiago and the Kings of León*, *Hisp*, 18 (1958), 3-37. LTK, V<sup>2</sup>, 834. J. Martín, *Fernando II de León y la Orden de Santiago, 1170-1181*, *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 1 (1964), 167-95; *Orígenes de la orden militar de Santiago*, *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 4 (1967), 571-90. H. Mota Arévalo, *La Orden de Santiago en tierras de Extremadura*, *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 18 (1962), 5-76. NCE, VII, 220-21. J. O'Callaghan, *Hermendades between the Military Order of Calatrava and Santiago during the Castilian Reconquest, 1158-1252*, *Speculum*, 44 (1969), 609-18. J. Pérez Balsera, *Los Caballeros de Santiago*, 7 vols., Madrid, 1932-1935. R. Revilla Viéla, *Ordenes militares de Santiago*, Alcántara, Calatrava y Montesa, Madrid, 1927. E. Rodríguez Amaya, *La Orden de Santiago en tierras de Badajoz*, *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 2 (1946), 252-75. E. Sáez, *Privilegio de la Orden de Santiago a Caravaca*, *Hisp*, 2 (1942), 123-37. A. Sierra Corelia, *El Archivo de San Marcos de León, Algunos datos para la historia de la orden militar de caballeros de Santiago*, *Archivos Leoneses*, 6 (1952), 113-61, 7 (1953), 115-57. R. Touceda Fontela, *Bulas apostólicas y privilegios reales concedidos a la orden militar de Santiago*, *Mauritania*, 25 (1952), 182-83; *Cómo se arman caballeros de la Orden de Santiago*, *Mauritania*, 25 (1952), 64-65; *Las órdenes religioso-militares*, *Orígenes de la Orden de Santiago*, *Mauritania*, 25 (1952), 160-61. E. De Vargas Zuñiga, *Los comendadores extremeños de la Orden de Santiago*, *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 13 (1957), 297-99. L. Wright, *The Military Orders in XVIth and XVIIth Century Spanish Society, The Institutional Embodiment of a Historical Tradition, Past and Present*, (1969), n° 43, pp. 34-70.

#### STEPHEN LANGTON

Stephen Langton studied at Paris and then, beginning about 1180, lectured at the university for more than twenty years. As France was the scene of his intellectual career, so after 1206 his ecclesiastical and political career commenced with his nomination to the cardinalate in 1206 and consecration as archbishop of Canterbury in 1207. In his capacity as primate of England he has a place in history as a statesman and world figure. He is the author of various letters, sermons, two theological *summae*, Scriptural commentaries, and a commentary on the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor.

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## THIRON AND SAINT BERNARD OF THIRON

The congregation of Thiron followed a strict interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, especially avoiding material wealth and emphasizing agriculture and crafts. In 1629 it joined the Congregation of Saint-Maur, and a college was founded which endured until the suppression.

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Bernard of Thiron (1046-1117): AA SS, Apr. II, 224-54. PL, CLXXII, 1367-1446. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, n° 1251. Bulaeus, I, 564. Butler-Attwater, II, 92. Cath, I, 1482-83. Chevalier, BB, I, 564. C. Claireaux, *Saint Bernard de Thiron et l'ancienne abbaye*, Bellême, 1913. DHGE, VIII, 754-55. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, VI, 90-91. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique*, I, 1510. EC, II, 1440-41. HLF, X, 210-16. LTK, II<sup>2</sup>, 249. J. Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1098-1265)*, new ed., Paris, 1951, pp. 29-34. NCE, II, 343. A. Peschot, *Deux moines errants et leur séjour momentané au Perche: saint Bernard de Thiron, saint Lubin*, Bellême, 1908. Walter, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1908. Zimmermann, II, 54-67.

## VAL-DES-CHOUX

Viard, a former Carthusian laybrother, then hermit, became the first abbot of Val-des-Choux and drew up its rules and customs based on Benedictine, Cistercian, and Carthusian usages. The Congregation spread in France, the Lowlands, Germany, and Scotland. In 1760 it joined the reform of Sept-Fons.

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## WALTER OF LONDON

The exact identification of "Walter of London" seems insoluble. All the manuscripts read *magister Galterus de Londonia*, which seems to lessen the possibility of paleographical error. It is possible that of the various Fulconists noted by Jacques de Vitry, he was a simple preacher like John de Liro or John of Nivelles but left no other historical traces. The term *magister* does not necessarily indicate that he was a scholar, for the title was often accorded the heads of preaching bands (see p. 161,13; also Chenu, p. 261). There is some room for historical speculation, however, if one keeps in mind the characteristics which seem to be common to the personages listed by Jacques de Vitry: deep spirituality, preachers and reformers, crusade preachers, theologians, prelates, and statesmen, both ecclesiastical and secular.

The possibility of paleographical error might be investigated first.

- a) Is it possible that *Galterus* is a misreading of *Petrus*, and that Jacques de Vitry had in mind Peter of London? Peter was one of the early Parisian scholars who, like Langton and Courçon, studied under Peter Cantor. He was canon and archdeacon at London, and some of his theological works, marked with a practical approach like others of the school of Peter Cantor, have come down to us.
- b) Is *Galterus* a misreading of *Guillelmus*? In 1212 Innocent III commissioned a Master William of London to preach the crusade in England (Russell, p. 194).
- c) Is *Londonia* a misreading of *Laudunum* or *Lugdunum*, Latin forms of Laon? Two Walters were bishops of that city before the time of Jacques de Vitry: Walter of Saint Maurice, 1151–1155, and Walter of Mortagne, 1155–1174, a theologian of merit. Still, neither was contemporary to Fulk of Neuilly and probably cannot be seriously considered. Moreover, the text of Jacques de Vitry, *defuncto* [Fulco]... *multi... ceperunt predicare et docere*, would seem to outrule any personage anterior to 1195–1202.

Jacques de Vitry had personal acquaintance with two other Walters, but in this consideration the possibility of explaining *Londonia* is almost nil.

- a) Walter of Tournai was archdeacon of Acre. Jacques de Vitry requests prayers for his soul in Letter IV, 220–223, Huygens, Lettres, pp. 109–110.
- b) Walter of Utrecht was abbot of Villers in Brabant, 1214–1221, and recipient, like John of Nivelles, of Letters VI and VII of Jacques de Vitry, Huygens, Lettres, p. 133, line 284, and p. 134, lines 5–6. The abbot was outstanding for piety, humility, and discipline and was active in the female apostolate in Belgium.

Several other Walters have been studied: prelates, historians, men active in the Holy Land, figures of northern France, churchmen-statesmen with English connections. However, lack of evidence, worldliness of life, or remoteness in time or place have tended to exclude serious consideration of them: Walter

of Florence, Bishop of Acre, 1208-1212, the immediate predecessor of Jacques de Vitry in the oriental see; Walter, 1155-1193, historian of the foundation of the abbey of Arrouaise; Walter l'Anglais, Archbishop of Palermo, 1170-1194; Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, 1184-1207; Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, immediate predecessor of Stephen Langton; Walter de Marvis, Bishop of Tournai, 1219-1252.

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Names which appear in the text of the *Historia Occidentalis* are listed in their Latin form. If such names are also found in the English text, the English form is included within brackets after the Latin form and further cross-indexed in English. At times the English form is included in brackets for the sake of clarity.

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